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A JOURNAL

DURING A RESIDENCE IN FRANCE,

FROM THE

BEGINNING OF AUGUST,

TO THE

MIDDLE OF DECEMBER, 1792.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MOST REMARKABLE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED AT PARIS FROM THAT TIME TO THE DEATH OF THE LATE KING OF FRANCE.

9731

BY JOHN MOORE, M.D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

Opus opimum casibus, atrox præliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace sævum. TACIT.

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1793.

A

JOURNAL, &c.

Aire, October 7.

WE left Calais this morning, and came to St. Omers in the expectation of receiving ſuch information as would determine us whether it might be expedient to take Lille in our way to Paris: for at Calais the accounts were contradictory; according to ſome the ſiege was raiſed, according to others it ſtill continued.

On arriving at St. Omers, we were aſſured that the Auſtrian army had retired from before Lille. We therefore ſet out directly for this place, and arrived juſt time enough to be admitted before the gates were ſhut;

but we had very great difficulty in finding lodgings: all the inns being full of people, particularly of women and children from Lille, we were obliged to drive about in the dark from inn to inn for a conſiderable time before we could find one to receive us; and at laſt were glad to be allowed to take ſhelter in a miſerable naſty houſe, with the ſign of the Three Kings over the door. Nothing can be a ſtronger proof of the neglected and deſpiſed ſtate of this inn, than that a ſign ſo obnoxious is tolerated, or rather overlooked.

We were much diſappointed on our arrival at Aire, to find the accounts of the retreat of the Auſtrians from before Lille as uncertain and contradictory as thoſe of Calais. Not truſting to the information I received at our own wretched inn, I went to a coffee-houſe in ſearch of ſome more to be depended on: I addreſſed myſelf to a grave looking man who ſmoked his pipe at the door; I

ſoon found that he knew nothing of the matter, and was more diſpoſed to aſk queſtions than to anſwer them. He ſaid he perceived I was a ſtranger, and aſked where I lodged; I anſwered, *Aux Trois Rois.* "Aux Trois Rois!" repeated he with a grimace, "ma foi, Monſieur, vous avez choiſi là des hôtes qui ne ſont plus à la mode*."

Although none of the inhabitants of Aire, with whom I converſed, could inform me whether the Auſtrians had left Lille or not, they were all able and moſt willing to tell many ſtories of their cruelties. Whether they added *aught in malice* I know not, but I am perſuaded they did *nothing extenuate*. The maid of the inn, after giving a terrible account of the devaſtation and deſtruction occaſioned by the pillaging in the villages,

* At the three Kings!—Truly, Sir, you have choſen your lodgings with people who are not much in faſhio at preſent.

ſaid it was not eaſy to tell whether the Hulans or the red-hot bullets were the moſt miſchievous; but, continued ſhe, "Ce qui eſt certain, Monſieur, eſt, que le ſang coule dans ce pauvre Lille depuis huit jours, comme l'eau coule dans les rues d'Aire—ah! Monſieur, cela déchire le cœur!*"

Having pronounced this with a ſympathiſing accent, ſhe went out of the room, and I heard her ſinging a very gay tune as ſhe went down ſtairs.

The road to Paris this way is much more agreeable than that by Boulogne, the land being more fertile, the fields better cultivated, the country better inhabited, and the peaſantry richer. A great deal of tobacco is raiſed in the country around St. Omers, and between that town and Aire: the leaves are hung up to dry on the walls of the cot-

* What is quite certain, is, that blood flows in that poor town of Lille, in as great abundance as water in the ſtreets of Aire. It is enough to break one's heart.

tages,

tages, and on the ſides of the ſtacks of corn and of beans in the farm-yards.

We paſſed long trains of waggons with grain for the army now aſſembling near Lille.

Arras, October 8.

Aire has the appearance of a very poor town, and it might be imagined that the number of women and children who have fled to it from Lille would render it alſo a very melancholy place: I could not help remarking, however, that the firſt thing we heard laſt night when we entered the town, was the tune of *ça ira;* and on quitting it this morning the ſame tune was reſounding through the ſtreets, the paſſengers, whether going to their work or to matins, moving their heads and ſteps in cadence all the way.

As a great many poſt-horſes are employed in the public ſervice, it was with great difficulty that we got to Bethune. When we arrived at the poſt-houſe, which is on the outſide of the fortifications, we were informed,

formed, that we could not get horſes for the chaiſe in leſs than three or four hours, and none for the ſervants even then.

We walked into the town, which is beautifully ſituated on a riſing ground, with a delightful proſpect of a rich country all around. It was market day, and the town was crowded with well dreſſed cheerful looking peaſants.

We entered into converſation with an officer of cavalry on the public ſquare: he had left Lille three days before. He ſaid that the firing was violent when he came away, but there had been none heard ſince Saturday night:—this is Monday. He had ſince heard that the enemy had retired to the diſtance of a league from the town; whether they meant to renew the bombardment or not, he did not know, but at any rate he was perſuaded they would not be able to take the town, as the inhabitants were reſolved to be buried in the ruins rather than ſurrender.

Another perſon accoſted me ſoon after,

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as I was looking at the tree of Liberty which is planted in the market place; it was hung round with garlands of flowers, with emblems of freedom, and various inſcriptions. He informed me that it was not yet certainly known whether the Auſtrians had entirely relinquiſhed their attack on Lille; that at the worſt they could only deſtroy the houſes, but would never be able to take the town. On my aſking if he thought we ſhould be allowed to enter the town, in caſe we were to proceed by that route, he anſwered, that the town had never been entirely blockaded, and that even during the bombardment, which was made on the oppoſite ſide, the gate towards Bethune had been kept open for ſeveral hours every day; that as we were provided with paſſports we would be admitted as ſoon as we arrived, but, he added, that the roads were very much cut and deſtroyed, and he queſtioned whether we ſhould find horſes at the poſt-houſes between Be-

thune and Lille. On the whole, he ſaid, we muſt expect to meet with many obſtacles, and therefore adviſed us to go to Paris by Arras.—We determined to follow his advice. He then explained the allegoric figures that had been placed round the tree of Liberty two days before on account of ſome public feaſt or rejoicing: this led him on to ſpeak of the revolution, to which he appeared to be a zealous friend. He profeſſed a great eſteem for the Engliſh, becauſe they are the friends of freedom; and added, that although ſome of his acquaintance had a ſtrong perſuaſion that the Britiſh cabinet was watching for an opportunity of declaring againſt France, when ſhe was attacked and menaced by ſo many other powers, yet he, for his part, could not believe that ſo cowardly a policy would be adopted by ſo brave a nation. The conduct of the French court towards Great Britain during the conteſt with America occurred to me, but I did-

I did not think it expedient to remind him of it. He continued to obſerve, that France being now unanimous for a republic, all the efforts of their enemies to conquer the country, or dictate a government to the inhabitants, would prove vain; they would be exterminated, rather than ſubmit to foreign powers, or to their old oppreſſors.—"We have been," added he with great warmth, "too long oppreſſed by a race of weak luxurious princes, and trode upon by an inſolent yet ſlaviſh nobleſſe; it is difficult to get rid *de toutes ces vermines*, but as they are now moſtly gone, it will be our faults if we ever allow them to return."—Here I could not help reminding him, that many of the nobility had diſtinguiſhed themſelves as the friends of Liberty, and ſome were actually at the head of the armies of the republic at that moment; I mentioned Cuſtine, Biron, and Monteſquieu. He acknowledged the merit of thoſe I had named, and of ſome others; "but

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as for the greater part of the reſt," added he, "the only ſervice they ever rendered their country was by running away from it: if they had all remained, the democrates would not have ſuch an eaſy game, and Heaven knows what might have happened; but they are gone, and it is our buſineſs to keep them off: let them go and crouch to other kings, and domineer over other ſlaves, none are to be found in France.—This is the land of liberty and equality.—A camp is already formed at Douay, another is forming nearer Lille; if thirty thouſand more men are required, they will be raiſed in this neighbourhood without difficulty: hardly a peaſant or tradeſman in France, but is zealous in the cauſe of freedom, and ready to ſhed his blood for his country."—The man talked with ſuch animation of voice and geſture as drew a crowd around us, who all ſeemed to ſympathiſe with what he ſaid: this was not unobſerved by the ſpeaker, who

who by the looks he threw on the ſurrounding circle, and by the elevation of voice, ſhewed that he was as ſolicitous to be heard by it as by me.

I was told, after he quitted me, that he was not a citizen of Bethune, as I firſt imagined, but a Pariſian. I underſtand that there are many ſpies and emiſſaries in the various towns of France, hired by the executive power for the expreſs purpoſe of ſpreading thoſe ſentiments, and alſo to examine what are the prevailing opinions. Whether this man is one of thoſe I know not, but he could not have ſhewn himſelf a more zealous republican had he been ever ſo well paid for it.

When we returned to the poſt-houſe, we were informed that we might have horſes for the chaiſes, but there were no bidets for the ſervants, all of them being employed by the couriers who were continually paſſing and repaſſing on the public ſervice. There was a neceſſity therefore to take the ſervants

into

into the chaiſes, and in this manner we were dragged through very bad roads to Arras.

We met a battalion of national guards on the way. The citizens of Amiens no ſooner heard that Lille was inveſted, than they raiſed, clothed, and armed this battalion at their own expence. The men ſeem in high ſpirits, and were marching with great ardour to Lille.

Robeſpierre is a native of Arras; this great luminary of the revolution not only renders Arras more conſpicuous, but has thrown a ray of light on his brother, who lived here in obſcurity, but is now choſen a deputy to the convention.

Cuvilly, October 9.

We left Arras at ſix in the morning, and with much difficulty arrived at this wretched village a little after it was dark: we had been detained ſeveral hours at Peronne, waiting for

for the return of poſt-horſes, and afterwards till the poor animals were fed, and had in ſome meaſure recovered their fatigue.

Peronne is ſtrongly fortified, but the only garriſon in it at preſent conſiſts of citizens; they are however well armed, and moſt of the men, and all the officers, are in the uniform of the national guards.

A battalion of the Gens d'Armes of Paris are expected at Peronne this night. The quarter-maſter with ſome other of the corps are already arrived.

I was witneſs to a ſcene which will give ſome idea of the kind of liberty which exiſts in France at preſent.

I had joined three officers of the city guards, who were walking in the ſquare oppoſite to the poſt-houſe. One of them, a very genteel and obliging man, was giving me what information I aſked, when two men in the uniform of the expected battalion, came up to us, and one of them in a

haughty

haughty and menacing manner, demanded how it happened that the fleurs de lis and other ſymbols of royalty, to which he pointed, were not effaced from the ſteeple and the front of the town-houſe.

The officer replied, that it was the buſineſs of the mayor, and he knew nothing about it. On which the other burſt forth into many abuſive expreſſions againſt the mayor, calling him raſcal and ariſtocrate, and ſwearing that when he met him, he would cut him in pieces: as he ſaid this, he drew his ſabre and ſeemed diſpoſed to quarrel with all around him.

Another officer of the city guards, more advanced in years than the former, addreſſed this furious fellow in a ſoothing manner, aſſuring him that the municipality had already given orders that the emblems of which he complained ſhould all be removed; that the reaſon of its not being already done was becauſe the mayor, who was

a very

a very honeſt man, and of courſe no ariſtocrate, had been entirely occupied in ſending neceſſaries to their diſtreſſed friends at Lille, and in providing good quarters for the battalion of Pariſians which was expected.

This conciliatory language ſmoothed the threatening brow of the man, who at laſt ſheathed his ſword, and walked away with his companion. Each of theſe fellows had a brace of piſtols ſtuck in his belt, and there was ſomething in their looks, as well as their deportment, which gave me a ſuſpicion that they belonged to the aſſaſſinating band of September.

For the firſt two poſts after leaving Peronne, we were continually meeting ſmall bodies of the Gens d'Armes who were haſtening to the relief of Lille: they march in a very ſtraggling manner. The battalion conſiſts of a thouſand men; I do not ſuppoſe there was above two hundred in a body, with the colours. They cried as we paſſed,

Vive la nation ! vive la république ! and in a manner that ſufficiently denoted that it was expected we ſhould do the ſame, which we did accordingly ; but this ceremony becoming a little fatiguing, one of the ſervants refrained from joining in the cry when he was invited.—A ſoldier obſerving this, ſeized the bridle of his horſe, and ordered him to repeat the words ; with which as the man did not immediately comply, another levelled his piece, and would probably have fired, if Lord Lauderdale had not darted his head out of the window of the carriage, calling out, that the man did not underſtand their language, that he was un Anglois ; on which the ſoldier raiſed his muſket, and a young officer waving his hat and calling out Vivent les Anglois ! we paſſed on. Although there is no danger of a man's loſing his money by robbery on the high-way when he travels in France, he is in conſiderable danger of loſing his life, if he happens

not

not to be attentive and obedient to the word of command on occaſions like this.

It was fifty to one that this ſervant was not ſhot through the head, or thruſt through with a bayonet for his tardineſs in the preſent inſtance; and if he had, ſome one would have obſerved, as the man did at Clermont, *C'eſt un homme de moins*, and no farther notice would have been taken of the incident.

The whole of this battalion conſiſted of ſtout men, all well armed and well clothed, but there ſeemed to be little ſubordination among them; and I underſtand that, in general there is leſs in thoſe regiments which are formed of Pariſians than in the other corps.

When we arrived at the poſt-houſe, a conſiderable number were carouſing and ſinging ſongs in honour of the revolution. They ſeemed deſirous to converſe with us, and one who was a good deal elevated with wine, proclaimed aloud the exploits they

were to perform. "After driving *ces Gueux des Autrichiens*," ſaid he, "from Lille, we ſhall follow them to Bruſſels, and there paſs the winter." Another, addreſſing Lord Lauderdale, ſaid, "Je vois bien que vous êtes Anglais, Monſieur, mais j'eſpere que vous n'êtes pas du chambre des pairs qui ſont tous de ....." here he added a very groſs epithet, in too great uſe all over France.

They then proceeded on their march, vociferating certain ſongs of the groſſeſt nature, and ſhamefully abuſive of the King and Queen. Several were in a ſituation which put it out of their power to march to Peronne that day. Their comrades, however, prepared a carriage for them, which at length drove away.

I aſked the poſt-maſter if thoſe men were obedient to their officers: "Comme vous êtes à moi, Monſieur," anſwered he, "et peut-être pas même autant—comme je vais vous le prouver:"—this excited my curioſity—

ſity—" For," continued the poſt-maſter, as I am perſuaded that *Monſieur* is a man who liſtens to reaſon, you would par conſéquence comply with what I required, provided it were juſt and reaſonable; whereas thoſe men never mind what their officers ſay, whether it is reaſonable or not."

There was ſomething more preciſe and formal in this man's manner than is uſual with Frenchmen, which induced me to enquire a little about him of one of the poſtillions, who told me he had formerly been a ſchool-maſter in a neighbouring village.

He gave us another proof of his power of reaſoning; on his putting only two horſes to a chaiſe inſtead of three, which is uſual, he adverti ſed us that he expected to be paid for three. I hinted that this did not ſeem quite reaſonable: he immediately undertook to prove that it was highly reaſonable in him to exact as much for two horſes as for three, or if any difference were to be made, ſome-

what more: we were all attention.—"I will have the honour, Gentlemen, resumed he with a solemn air, of making this as clear as day light. You must all know that travellers are often detained in the middle of their journey by an accident happening to one of the horses in their carriage; but there is a greater chance of this happening to one of three horses than of two."—His argument was allowed to be irresistible, and he was paid his full demand. "All that I ever desire of any mortal," said the post-master as he received payment, "is that he will only hear me, and listen to the voice of reason—but those men who are just gone would do neither."

I understood that while he was proving to them that his bill was very reasonable, they had cut him short in the middle of his argument, and paid him with half; desiring him to recollect that salt, which before the revolution cost fourteen sols the pound, was now

now ſold at two, and that the price of tobacco had been diminiſhed in the ſame proportion.

Paris, October 10th.

Having left our miſerable quarters a little after five this morning, we arrived at Paris about four in the afternoon, paſſing through the lines which have been forming in the plains of St. Denis. Military men laugh at the idea of defending ſuch a town as Paris by any intrenchments which could be made before the Pruſſians come, if they come at all; and which, if made, would require a garriſon of a hundred thouſand men, and all the cannon in France to protect. The Pariſians, however, ſeem pleaſed with theſe intrenchments; particularly the women, of whom we obſerved great numbers, with their uſual gaiety, intermingled with the workmen.

Having written to an acquaintance to in-

form him about what time we expected to be at Paris, we drove to the Hotel des Tuileries, where he had engaged lodgings, which were preferred on account of their vicinity to the Conventional Aſſembly,

It will not be improper to mention here ſome things which took place in the Convention during our abſence from Paris, but of which I did not know the particulars till my return.

One moſt important object, and which demanded the early attention of the Convention, was to vindicate, as far as is poſſible, the French nation from the foul ſtain of the late maſſacres, by bringing the real authors of them to puniſhment. To this the Convention was invoked by juſtice, and prompted by every feeling of our nature. In an aſſembly in which there are ſome clergymen, many lawyers, and, as I am told, a conſiderable number of philoſophers, it was not to be ſuppoſed that a meaſure ſo neceſſary and becoming

coming would be long delayed. But it is ſomewhat extraordinary, that a ſeaman was the firſt who fixed the attention of the Aſſembly upon it.

" Il eſt temps," ſaid Kerſaint, " d'élever des échafauds pour ceux qui commettent les aſſaſſinats, et pour ceux qui les provoquent, &c. . . . Il y a peut-être plus de courage qu'on ne penſe à s'élever contre les aſſaſſins, mais duſſai-je tomber ſous leurs coups, je ſerai digne de la confiance de mes concitoyens*."

He then moved that four commiſſioners ſhould be immediately appointed to propoſe the moſt effectual meaſures for the preventing and puniſhing aſſaſſination, and that

* It is full time to erect ſcaffolds for thoſe who commit aſſaſſinations, or prompt others to commit them, &c. . . . Perhaps it requires more courage than might be imagined to ſpeak againſt aſſaſſins, but ſhould I fall the victim of their vengeance, I will ſhew myſelf worthy of the confidence of my fellow-citizens.

their plan ſhould be preſented to the Convention the next day.

It could hardly be ſuppoſed that ſuch a meaſure would be oppoſed.—Strange as this appears, however, it met with oppoſition.

Bazire obſerved, that France was ſtill in the criſis of a revolution, and *very vigorous meaſures* were neceſſary.—It was true, he added, that many ſuſpected perſons had been arreſted and puniſhed; thoſe perſons had been endeavouring to raiſe a civil war; but, continued he, there are not four men to be found in all France capable to give a plan which can, in the preſent moment, reconcile the public intereſt with the rights of the citizens.

Tallien (he who was ſecretary to the Council of the Community on the 2d of September,) ſaid, that the exiſting laws againſt aſſaſſination were ſufficient for the ſafety of

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the citizens, and propoſed the order of the day to Kerſaint's motion.

Others aſked for its adjournment.

To demand the adjournment of ſuch a motion, cried Vergniaud, is to demand impunity for aſſaſſins, to propoſe the order of the day is to propoſe anarchy—There are men, added he, who call themſelves republicans, and are, in reality, the ſlaves of tyrants; they ſpread ſuſpicions, hatred and vengeance among the citizens—they wiſh to excite the French people, like the ſoldiers of Cadmus, to cut one another's throats inſtead of fighting the common enemy.

He ended an eloquent ſpeech by ſupporting Kerſaint's motion.

Collot d' Herbois and others ſaid, that this motion was intended for eſtabliſhing *a law of blood*, and that there were men in office who would uſe it for the deſtruction of the moſt diſtinguiſhed patriots.

Some of thoſe whom Collot d' Herbois meant by the moſt diſtinguiſhed patriots are ſtrongly

ſtrongly ſuſpected of being the planners of the maſſacres—Collot d'Herbois himſelf is not clear of this ſuſpicion, which accounts for the oppoſition to Kerſaint's motion.

Merlin of Thionville oppoſed the motion, and went ſo far as to aſſert, that the baker who was murdered by the mob ſome months before, on a ſuſpicion of engroſſing grain to raiſe the price of bread, had been murdered on purpoſe to furniſh a pretext for proclaiming martial law, and by that means to juſtify the troops for firing on the people, which was then intended, and afterwards performed in the Champ de Mars. The Queen, from motives of humanity, had ſhewn kindneſs and generoſity to this man's widow;—in conſequence of which the ridiculous falſehood, now mentioned by Merlin, was invented and propagated.

Kerſaint ſpoke with energy againſt theſe abſurd imputations; and Buzot, with ſtrong and perſpicuous reaſoning, ſhewed, that

that the propoſed law was not to ſhed blood, but to prevent blood from being ſhed ; and in addition propoſed, that a guard ſhould be formed from all the 83 departments for the immediate protection of the Convention, that each department might have the conviction that its deputies could ſpeak and vote freely, and were not influenced by fear either of the people in the galleries, or of the Council General of the Community of Paris, which had uſurped ſo much power, and had exerciſed it with ſo much tyranny.

It was at laſt decreed, that ſix commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to form a law againſt the inciters to murder and aſſaſſination, and alſo to give in a plan for the formation of a guard to be at the diſpoſal of the Convention, which was to be drawn from all the 83 departments, to prevent the Convention from being domineered over by the

the General Council of the Commune of Paris as the Legiſlative Aſſembly had been.

This General Council exerciſes its uſurped power in a dreadful manner: citizens are ſtill arreſted and impriſoned by orders iſſued by its members.

Two commiſſioners from this council, declared at the election of the deputy at Auxerre, that the Commune of Paris poſſeſſed the whole power of the State; that thoſe choſen as deputies ſhould put their confidence in the Commune, and not in the National Aſſembly, the miniſters, or the generals.

Commiſſioners from the ſame council adviſed the inhabitants of Douay to erect ſcaffolds on the ramparts, and to execute all who were of a different opinion from them, as ariſtocrats and traitors.

And two other commiſſioners from that community raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of inſurrec-

tion at the Electoral Aſſembly of Seine and Marne that fourteen perſons were murdered in the tower of Meaux.—Thoſe facts were announced by different members of the Convention.

Nothing therefore can be more urgent than to deprive this Community of its uſurped power; and for this purpoſe it ſeems abſolutely neceſſary that the Convention ſhould have guards, and ſuch executive force at its command as will overbalance and keep in awe the rabble of the ſuburbs, who are at any time to be put in action by the influence of Santerre, and the money of another perſon who has a great deal at his command, which he is ſaid to laviſh among the ſans-culottes of the ſuburbs, when any meaſure is to be carried for the intereſt of the party.

Some time after this a moſt extraordinary ſcene was exhibited in the Conventional Aſſembly:—Merlin de Thionville, a man far more diſtinguiſhed for zeal than prudence, declared

declared that La Source had in private converſation ſaid, that there was a faction in the Convention for eſtabliſhing a dictator, and he called on La Source to announce who this intended dictator was, that he might be inſtantly poniarded.

La Source, who muſt have been ſomewhat ſurpriſed to hear a private, perhaps a confidential remark, publiſhed in this manner, explained what he had ſaid differently. He ſaid that he had complained of the tyranny of certain men, who flatter and deceive the citizens of Paris, and who point out the beſt friends of the people as victims to the rage of aſſaſſins: that ſuch men were already dictators; that there was the greateſt neceſſity for an armed force to ſecure the independence of the Convention, and prevent it from being dictated to by thoſe who had uſurped illegal influence.—" Let thoſe men of blood, he added, tremble, and know that the ſame power which hurled Lewis

from

from his throne, will not long ſuffer the deſpotiſm of others."

But in the courſe of the debate Rebecqui, one of the deputies for Marſeilles, in direct terms, accuſed the partizans of Robeſpierre of a deſign of raiſing him to the dictatorſhip.

Danton, dreading that this might draw on a diſcuſſion and produce an inveſtigation which he wiſhed to prevent, endeavoured with ſome addreſs to turn the attention of the Aſſembly to a different object. He moved that the pains of death ſhould be decreed on any perſon who ſhould attempt to deſtroy the unity of France, by dividing it into different commonwealths, bound together by a federative bond, like the United Provinces and the Cantons of Switzerland. Danton knew that Buzot, Vergniaud, Guadet, and others who were eager for the puniſhment of all who had been directly or indirectly concerned in promoting the murder of the priſoners, were accuſed of inclining

to this plan of federative republics, which is by no means the wiſh of the majority of the Convention—he therefore intended to intimidate them from proſecuting the aſſaſſins, by holding up the dread of being accuſed themſelves.

Buzot, ſenſible of his intention, boldly oppoſed the inſinuation. "Who is it," he exclaimed, "that thinks of diſuniting France? I propoſe that a guard for the Conventional Aſſembly ſhall be furniſhed by the 83 departments, with a view to union, and thereby to ſignify that the Convention is equally under the care of them all; thoſe who oppoſe this meaſure appear rather to wiſh for diſunion."

He put this in ſo clear a light, that Robeſpierre thought the only means to prevent its evidence from being apparent to the moſt ſhort-ſighted of the Aſſembly, was by overwhelming the argument with a torrent of words, and obſcuring it in a miſt of ſophiſtry,

phiſtry, both of which this popular orator has at his command.

He began by expatiating on his own patriotiſm, on his incorruptibility, and the ſervices he had rendered the ſtate while he ſat in the conſtituent aſſembly.—The theme was attractive, but becoming leſs pleaſing to the audience than to the orator himſelf, one of the members called out, " *Robeſpierre veux tu bien terminer cette longue kyrielle*; declare nous franchement en quatre mots tes ſentimens et non ta vie paſſée*." This, however, did not bring him to give any explicit anſwer to the accuſation; he dwelt for an hour longer on the favourite ſubject with which he began, then launched into proteſtations of his love for his country, and of the incredibility of his ever forming any ſcheme againſt that freedom for which he had ſo

* Pray put an end to your tedious harangue, and inform us, in two words, of your ſentiments on the point in queſtion, and not of all your paſt life.

long ſtruggled; and finiſhed by declaring his ſuſpicions that there were among their body, thoſe who watched an opportunity of dividing France, and then combining it into federate ſtates; and therefore he ſeconded Danton's motion.

Barbaroux, a young man, and deputy from Marſeilles, in ſupport of what his colleague Rebecqui had aſſerted, declared, that on his arrival at Paris, it had been inſinuated to him by certain intimates of Robeſpierre, and particularly by Panis, that in the preſent emergency there was a neceſſity for uniting under ſome perſon of great popularity, in whom a power equal to that of the Roman dictators ſhould be placed for a certain time; and that Robeſpierre, from his known patriotiſm and popularity, was the proper perſon they could fix upon for that office.

Panis endeavoured to defend himſelf by ſaying that Barbaroux had aſſuredly either miſtaken his words or meaning. "Is it poſſible,"

poſſible," added he, wiſhing to conciliate his accuſer, " that Barbaroux, whom I love, becauſe I know him to be a good patriot, can believe I ever meant ſuch a thing?"

This manner of denying ſuch a charge forms a ſtrong preſumption of its truth; for a man would hardly ſpeak in ſuch terms of another, who accuſed him falſely of ſo dangerous an offence.

Barbaroux, however, was not to be ſoftened, but perſiſted in the charge. " Who, beſides yourſelf," cried Panis, " can witneſs that I ever made ſuch a propoſal?"

" I can, cried Rebecqui," " for I heard you." This ſeemed to diſconcert both Panis and Robeſpierre, and to ſilence and confound the whole party, till Marat, thinking the exigency worthy of his intrepidity of countenance, aſcended the tribune. He no ſooner appeared than murmurs and execrations aroſe in every corner of the Aſſembly.

" It would appear," ſaid he, without

any mark of emotion, " that ſome in this Aſſembly are my perſonal enemies."

" All! all! we are all your enemies!" reſounded from every quarter.

He lamented the general deluſion with the accent of regret, and then aſſuming an air of courage, with a full ſwell of voice, he declared that he, and he only, had conceived the idea of appointing a dictator; that he had mentioned it to ſeveral, ſome of whom may have repeated it, but that the thought was originally his own. That, convinced as he had long been of the plots of a perfidious court, and as he ſtill was of the treaſons of many citizens, he thought the exigency of the times required that the direction of the public affairs ſhould be placed in the hands of an honeſt and determined man, an enlightened patriot, who, without fear or reſpect of perſons, would *apply the axe of juſtice to the necks of the guilty*.—" Such is my own opinion," continued he; " I have publiſhed

it,

it, and if your ideas have not ſoared to the height of mine, ſo much the worſe for you."

Such an inflated declaration iſſuing from a little dirty mortal, whoſe murky viſage ſcarce overlooked the tribune, turned the indignation of the Aſſembly into mirth, and many of the members burſt into laughter.

But Vergniaud reſtored the gravity of the Aſſembly, by bringing forward a very extraordinary circumſtance, which points out pretty plainly thoſe to whom the maſſacres of the priſoners, not only in Paris, but in every other part of France where they took place, are to be attributed.

He then read a letter ſigned by certain members of the council of the Commune de Paris, which had been tranſmitted to all the municipalities of France, immediately after the ſlaughter of the priſoners at Paris in the beginning of September.

This letter is of ſo very ſingular a nature,

that I think it proper to tranſcribe the whole.

Freres et amis, un affreux complôt tramé par la Cour pour égorger tous les Patriotes de l'empire François, complôt dans lequel un grand nombre de membres de l'Aſſemblée Nationale ſont compromis, ayant réduit, le 9 du mois dernier, la Commune de Paris à la cruelle néceſſité de ſe ſervir de la puiſſance du peuple pour ſauver la Nation, elle n'a rien négligé pour bien mériter de la patrie.

Aprés les témoignages que l'Aſſemblée Nationale venoit de lui donner elle-meme, eut on penſé que des-lors des nouveaux complôts ſe tramoient dans le ſilence, et qu'ils eclatoient dans le moment même, ou l'Aſſemblée Nationale, oubliant qu'elle venoit de déclarer que la Commune de Paris avoit ſauvé la patrie, s'empreſſoit de la deſtituer, pour prix de ſon brûlant civiſme ?

Fière de jouir de toute la plenitude de la confiance

confiance nationale qu'elle s'efforcera de mériter de plus en plus, placée au foyer de toutes les conſpirations, et déterminée à perir pour le ſalut public, elle ne ſe glorifiera d'avoir rempli pleinement ſes devoirs que lorſqu'elle aura obtenu votre approbation, qui eſt l'objet de tous ſes vœux et dont elle ne ſera certaine qu'aprés que tous les départemens *auront ſanctionné ſes meſures pour le ſalut de la choſe publique* ; et profeſſant les principes de la plus parfaite egalité, n'ambitionnant d'autre privilége que celui de ſe préſenter la premiére á la breche, elle s'empreſſera de ſe remettre au niveau de la Commune la moins nombreuſe de l'empire, dès qu'il n'y aura plus rien â redouter.

Prévenue que des hordes des barbares s'avancent contre elle, la Commune de Paris ſe hâte d'informer ſes freres de tous les départemens, qu'une partie des conſpirateurs féroces, détenus dans les priſons, a été miſe à mort par le peuple, *actes de juſtice qui lui ont paru*

indiſpenſables pour retenir par la terreur les legions de traitres cachés dans ſes murs, au moment ou il alloit marcher à l'ennemi ; *et ſans doute la nation*, aprés la longue ſuite de trahiſons qui l'a conduite ſur les bords de l'abyme, *s'empreſſera d'adopter ce moyen ſi utile et ſi néceſſaire*, et tous les François ſe diront, comme les Pariſiens: Marchons à l'ennemi, *mais ne laiſſons par derriére nous ces brigands pour égorger nos femmes et nos enfans.*

Signed PIERRE DUPLAIN, JOURDEUIL, PANIS, SERGENT, L'ENFANT, MARAT L'AMI DU PEUPLE, LE CLERC, DUFORTRE &c. &c. Adminiſtrators of the Committee of the Public Safety. *

The

* Brethren and friends, a horrid plot, planned by the Court, to murder all the patriots of the French empire; a plot in which a great number of the National Aſſembly were engaged, having, on the ninth of laſt month, forced the Commune de Paris to the cruel neceſſity of making uſe of the power of the people to

ſave

The moral of this virtuous epiſtle is evident—If you have any regard for your country,

ſave the nation, the Commune has neglected nothing for the ſervice of the country.

After the approbation which the National Aſſembly itſelf beſtowed on the Commune, could it, have been imagined that new plots were projecting in ſilence, which broke forth at the moment when the National Aſſembly, forgetting that ſhe had declared that the Commune de Paris had ſaved the country, haſtened to diſſolve that very Community as a recompence for all its faithful ſervices.

Proud of poſſeſſing the full confidence of the Nation, which we are reſolved to deſerve more and more; placed in the centre of all the conſpiracies, and determined to periſh in defence of the public, we cannot boaſt of having entirely fulfilled our duty till we ſhall obtain your approbation, which is the object of all our wiſhes, and of which we cannot be certain till all the Departments have *ſanctioned our meaſures for the public ſafety.* Profeſſing principles of the moſt perfect equality, wiſhing no other privilege but that of preſenting ourſelves the firſt at the breach, we will put ourſelves on a level with the ſmalleſt

try, or any tenderneſs for your wives and children, you will cut the throats of all your priſoners as ſoon as you conveniently can.

What an infernal letter! and what renders it ſtill more atrocious, is its being deliberately written by men in the character of magiſtrates.

ſmalleſt municipality in the Nation, as ſoon as the dangers which now threaten the country are paſt.

Informed that bands of barbarians are advancing, the Commune de Paris haſtens to acquaint all the departments, that part of thoſe furious conſpirators detained in the priſons of Paris have been put to death by the people; *an act of juſtice which ſeemed indiſpenſable to ſtrike terror* into the breaſts of thoſe legions of traitors hid within her walls, at the time when the citizens were about to march againſt the enemy. And no doubt the Nation, after that long ſucceſſion of treaſons which have brought her to the brink of ruin, will haſten to adopt a meaſure ſo uſeful and neceſſary; and all the inhabitants of France will ſay, like the Pariſians: Let us march againſt the enemy, but let us not *leave behind us a band of villains to murder our wives and children.*

It

It might naturally be expected that the reading of this invitation to murder ſhould have filled the Aſſembly with ſo much indignation, that a decree of accuſation would have been immediately paſſed againſt Panis and the reſt. It produced however only new clamours and confuſion, with an outcry from one part of the hall for the order of the day.—At laſt *Couthon* propoſed that they ſhould turn their attention from accuſations againſt individuals to the more important exigencies of the ſtate: this was ſupported by all thoſe who dreaded any inquiry or inveſtigation reſpecting the promoters of the maſſacres; and thoſe who had been at firſt inclined to that meaſure being fatigued, or perhaps afraid to perſiſt, the order of the day was agreed to—On which Marat, who remained in the tribune, pulled a piſtol from his pocket, which having held to his head, he ſaid, "I now declare to you, citizens, that if the fury which has been diſplayed on this

occaſion had carried you the length of a decree of accuſation againſt me, I ſhould have blown my brains out before your faces." What he meant by this I know not, unleſs it was to vex the Aſſembly on being diſappointed of ſo deſirable an event.

Next to the diſorderly conduct of ſome of the members themſelves, nothing diſgraces the National Aſſembly ſo much as the inſolence of the audience in the galleries—How could any court or any aſſembly of men ſupport dignity, if it was expoſed to be applauded or hooted according to the opinions or caprice of thoſe admitted to hear their debates? There is, it is true, a decree againſt all noiſes and ſigns of approbation or diſapprobation; but notwithſtanding its being broken every day, noboody has ever been puniſhed on that account.

The majority of the Convention have a great deſire that a ſtrict inveſtigation ſhould be made into the maſſacres, that the promo-

ters of them may be puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner; and the ſame majority are equally ſolicitous to have an armed force at the command of the Convention decreed and eſtabliſhed. But I imagine they have thrown a great obſtacle in the way of obtaining the laſt of theſe objects, by manifeſting a deſign to purſue the firſt. They would have ſhewn more policy if they had ſaid nothing of the one till they had ſecured the other. A conſiderable number of members of the Convention itſelf are ſuppoſed to be conſcious of being directly or indirectly involved in that horrid buſineſs; they ſee their own ruin in ſuch an inveſtigation; and therefore will oppoſe it by every means in their power. What means have they in their power ſince a majority of the Convention is for the meaſure? They cannot object to a law againſt aſſaſſination, and for the puniſhment of murder; but, knowing what uſe is immediately to be made of the armed force, they

will

will raiſe objections to that being eſtabliſhed; and till ſuch a force is eſtabliſhed, their friends in the ſuburbs will be able to protect the authors of the maſſacres. In ſhort, the minority in the Convention, at the head of which are Danton and Robeſpierre, already have an armed force at their command, in the active citizens of the ſuburbs; and will in all probability uſe every means, and they are not ſuppoſed to be ſo ſcrupulous as their rivals in the means they employ, to prevent any other armed force from being eſtabliſhed.

The ſituation of the generals who command the armies of France at preſent is diſagreeable in many reſpects; but particularly in their being under the control, and expoſed to the cenſure of men who are no judges of their military abilities, and extremely liable to prejudice and ſuſpicion.—Nothing can be more detrimental to the intereſt of the ſtate, than that thoſe men who are riſquing their lives in the public ſervice,

and

and peforming their duty with fidelity to their country, ſhould be expoſed to calumny, and ſurrounded with ſuſpicion, the tendency of which muſt be to diſcourage their minds, cool their zeal, and diſturb all their operations.

Talien, a young man who was ſecretary to the municipality of Paris, and is now a member of the Convention, made an attack lately, in that Aſſembly, on General Monteſquiou, who commands the army in Savoy. —He accuſed him of being tainted with ariſtocracy, and added, which was a pretty bold aſſertion for a man who was bred a clerk, that, *in his opinion*, the general was deficient in military abilities, and therefore he moved that he ſhould be deprived of his command.

It is not to be imagined that much attention would have been paid to Talien's judgment of the abilities of a general officer, had he not been a creature of Danton's, and

ſuppoſed

ſuppoſed to act under his direction—His propoſal, therefore, was ſupported by others, who were for paſſing a decree that General Monteſquiou had loſt the confidence of the nation.

La Riviere obſerved, that as it might occaſion diſquietude to other generals, if one of their brethren was to be caſhiered with ſo little ceremony, it might be reaſonable to appoint a committee to examine a little into Monteſquiou's conduct in the firſt place, and defer the puniſhment till it ſhould appear that he deſerved it.

This obſervation in favour of the general was made in ſuch very guarded terms, that one would hardly think it could have given offence even to his bittereſt enemy.—Billaud de Varennes, however, ſaid in reply, that it was not ſurpriſing that the ſame perſon ſhould defend Monteſquiou, who had formerly defended the conduct of La Fayette. In the preſent circumſtances, this inſinuation might

might have been very hurtful to La Riviere; he therefore aſcended the tribune with precipitation, and declared that he was one of the 224 members of the Legiſlative Aſſembly who had on the 8th of Auguſt voted againſt La Fayette; that what Billaud had ſaid was falſe and calumnious, and required that he ſhould be called to order, and cenſured as a calumniator by the preſident.

"Called to order! for what?" cried Danton. "In the ſenate of Rome Brutus and Cato boldly ſpoke out thoſe plain truths which we from the puſillanimity of our manners evade as perſonalities; for my part I am reſolved to accuſe, without circumlocution, every perſon whoſe conduct I think ſuſpicious."

Although it may be granted that Billaud and Danton have as great a reſemblance to Brutus and Cato as the Convention has to the Roman ſenate, yet ſtill there is a difference between the bold truths of the latter,

and the bold falſehoods of the former; the compariſon therefore is not quite appoſite.

Danton however inſiſted upon General Monteſquiou's being deprived of his command, for which he urged two additional reaſons; one, that when the public ſafety is in danger, it is ſufficient that a general is ſuſpected: the other, added he, is, "qu'il faut nous montrer terribles; c'eſt du caractere qu'il faut pour ſoutenir la liberté *."

This is certainly the character that Danton has uniformly ſupported ſince the 10th of Auguſt, which tends to ſtrengthen ſome ſuſpicions of a terrible nature, indeed, which are harboured againſt him.

The propoſed decree was paſſed, that General Monteſquiou ſhould be deprived of his command.

What renders Monteſquiou obnoxious to ſome leading members in the Convention,

* That we may appear terrible; ſuch is the character requiſite for ſupporting the cauſe of liberty.

does

does him honour in the eyes of impartial people—he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the petitions for the dechéance of the King, and was for ſupporting him in the exerciſe of the veto which the conſtitution gave him. He was alſo accuſed by Bazire of having ſaid at the extraordinary commiſſion, that if they ſuſpended the King's authority, they ran the riſk of being abandoned by the army; it is alſo imagined that he wiſhes to behave with more mildneſs to the Genevois than is agreeable to certain people in power. But what will prove more injurious to Monteſquiou than all theſe charges, is, that Danton is his enemy.

It muſt have been very mortifying to Danton, and the other enemies of this gentleman, when the news arrived a little after their decree, that he had already entered Savoy, and was proceeding with the moſt triumphant ſucceſs.—He concludes his letter to the miniſter of war with the following words. "Je vous rends grace, Monſieur,

de m'avoir procuré cette maniere de repondre à la calomme; c'eſt ainſi que j'aimerai toujours à la repouſſer *."

The friends of General Monteſquiou ſeized this opportunity of moving that the decree againſt him ſhould be recalled.

His enemies oppoſed this.

Manuel ſeconded the motion which was firſt made by Lacroix, adding, that he hoped they would recal this decree without loſs of time, leſt Monteſquiou, by gaining a new victory, ſhould put them ſtill more in the wrong. Danton, perceiving the tide flowing in favour of Monteſquiou, and being unable to turn it entirely againſt him, propoſed that the Aſſembly ſhould extend the power of the commiſſioners that were ſent to his army, by leaving it to their judgment to deprive the general of his command, or

* I return you thanks, Sir, for having put it in my power to make this kind of anſwer to calumny; I ſhould wiſh to repel her attacks always in the ſame manner.

to

to continue him in it, as they might think expedient. Danton had before given a more extenſive commiſſion to an officer of Monteſquiou's army, namely, to watch the conduct of the general, and, if he ſhould make one retrograde movement, to ſhoot him through the head.

Genſonné, with much reaſon, ſhewed the impropriety of the Aſſembly's allowing the execution of their decrees to depend on the judgment of any but themſelves; and it was obſerved by Couthon, that the nation had given to the Convention the right of making decrees, but not the power of delegating that right to others. On which Danton, puſhing prejudice and want of candour as far as poſſible, exclaimed: "They ſay that Monteſquiou has gained a victory, but I beg leave to obſerve, that victories are not gained by a ſingle man—the victory was gained by the French army."

This argument certainly does prove that Monteſquiou has no better title to his vic-

tory in Savoy, than Hannibal had to that at Cannæ, or Cæſar to the victory at Pharſalia.

Danton perſiſted in his motion; although, he added, that it was poſſible that an old courtier, like Monteſquiou, ſeeing the ſucceſs which attended the army of the republic in all quarters, might at laſt reſolve to adhere to it.

It was decided, however, according to the propoſal of Genſonné, that the execution of the laſt decree againſt Monteſquiou ſhould be ſuſpended.

I know not whether the continued ſucceſs which attends General Monteſquiou, will finally overcome the envy and malice of his enemies; but, in a third letter, which came ſoon after the ſecond, he announces the reduction of all Savoy, from the Lake of Geneva to Mount Cenis: the progreſs of his troops, he ſays, reſembles a triumphant proceſſion more than the march of an army; the inhabitants of towns and villages flock to him with congratulations, and the three-

coloured

coloured ribbon in their hats; and adds, that the minds of the people ſeem diſpoſed to a revolution like that of France; and that the propoſal had been already made of forming Savoy into an 84th department of France.

On tranſmitting Monteſquiou's letter to the Convention, Servan, the war miniſter, wrote to the preſident, that, as the expedition into Savoy had rendered that country free, it was worthy of the French Republic to ſolemniſe ſo happy an event by ordering the hymn of the Marſeillois to be performed in the Square of the Revolution, with the utmoſt magnificence, by vocal and inſtrumental muſic. He adds, " que ce chant patriotique, expreſſion fidelle des ſentimens François, retentiſſe dans tout l' empire, que nos voiſins l' entendent, et qu'il devienne à jamais, l'eſpoir des peuples, et la terreur des tyrans *."

After

* Let that patriotic ſong, the faithful expreſſion of the ſentiments of France, reſound all over the nation;

After General Kellermann had given the firſt check to the Pruſſians on the 20th of September, he wrote to Servan for liberty to celebrate a *Te Deum* in his camp, on account of that important affair.—"The ſong of the Marſeillois," replied the miniſter, "is the *Te Deum* of the French republic; let it be performed by the muſic of your army, and ſung by the ſoldiers."

In both inſtances Servan's propoſal was adopted.

To ſubſtitute a profane ſong in preference to a religious rite, it might be imagined, would give great offence: ſuch a propoſal from the parliament to their army in the time of the Engliſh republic, would have produced a mutiny and have ſhocked the whole nation. It had no ſuch effect in the preſent inſtance in France, where religious zeal is wonderfully extinguiſhed; and an enthuſi-

may it be heard by all the neighbouring countries; and may it become the hope of the people, and the terror of tyrants!

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aſm of another kind glows in its ſtead, the enthuſiaſm of Liberty, what they call Civiſme, in which an attachment to the preſent government, and an abhorrence of monarchy, are included.

This is profeſſed with as much oſtentation and apparent zeal as ever the Roman Catholic religion was, in the moſt ſuperſtitious times; for, although the puniſhment with which a want of civiſme is attended, is not ſo durable as that pronounced againſt the irreligious, it is more immediate; which, on the generality of mankind, has full as great an effect. Civiſme, like religion, produces both enthuſiaſts and hypocrites: the former deteſt and abominate a king and nobility, as much as their zealous forefathers, two centuries ago, abominated the devil and his angels; and they are as zealous perſecutors of every deviation from the orthodox creed of civiſme, as their predeceſſors were of hereſy. The enthuſiaſts are chiefly among the poor; the hypocrites among the rich: many of whom

whom are juſt ſuch republicans in France, as the Jews are Chriſtians in Portugal.

Immediately after Monteſquiou's letter had been read in the convention, Bancal, one of the deputies for the department du Puy-de-Dome, put the Convention in mind, that the Conſtituent Aſſembly had by a ſolemn decree renounced every idea of conqueſt; and therefore he very wiſely moved that the Convention, faithful to that ſacred principle, ought to reject the propoſal of erecting Savoy into an 84th department of France, and ſhould order it to be proclaimed all over Savoy, that France renounces conqueſt, and deſires no extenſion of territory.

This motion, equally juſt and politic, was oppoſed: it was ſaid, France has not given a temporary freedom to a country, that it may again fall under the yoke of its former tyrant. She ought to agree to the generous wiſhes of the people ſhe has freed, by accepting their union, and extending the empire of Liberty as far as poſſible. "All

Europe," ſaid a member, " will gradually join you, and all Europe will be like one family.—The people of every nation will be your friends, and you will have no enemies but kings—you cannot ſurely refuſe ſuch a ſublime idea."

A flouriſh of this kind might be applauded in a diſputing club, or might perhaps be admired in a viſionary declaimer on politics; but it was hardly to be imagined that ſuch ſentiments would make any impreſſion on an aſſembly of legiſlators, where practical knowledge and ſober good ſenſe preſided. It was hardly to be expected that thoſe fine words would not be conſtrued by all Europe into an abſolute renunciation of the decree againſt conqueſt, and really meant that the new republic intended, under a pretence of ſpreading liberty, to overturn every government, and ſubdue every nation around.

Jean Baptiſte Louvet, notwithſtanding the applauſe which was very liberally beſtowed on the ſentiments above mentioned, had the firmneſs

firmneſs and good ſenſe to declare, that, without renouncing one of the wiſeſt decrees of the conſtituent aſſembly, they could not interfere in the government of any other country: that they could not, without infringing the moſt ſacred right of the people of Savoy, preſs upon them the conſtitution which France might aſſume for herſelf. How did they know that the conſtitution which was expedient for France, was alſo expedient for Savoy? and if expedient, how did they know that the Savoyards at the bottom of their hearts choſe it?—"That which is eſſentially juſt," Louvet continued, "is for the moſt part ſound policy. Let it be ſolemnly declared to all the people who ſhall be, I will not ſay ſubdued, but freed by your arms, that they may chooſe to themſelves what form of government they pleaſe, that their laws ſhall be of their own making, that you not only wiſh to give them freedom, but freedom in the mode which they themſelves prefer.—"I am

convinced,"

convinced," added he, "that in Brabant, whither your armies intend to march, there exiſt ſtrong prejudices againſt ſome of your laws, and your conſtitution in general; prejudices which it will require many years to eradicate, and which will render you more odious in their eyes than their preſent maſter, if you attempt to force your conſtitution upon them. It is as expedient, therefore, as equitable, to declare the complete independence of every country into which you carry freedom."

Danton, in anſwer to this, ſaid, that they had aſſuredly the right to declare to every ſuch country, that it ſhould never more be governed by a king: that if the people were ſo abſurd as to deſire a government contrary to their intereſt, it ſhould not be allowed: that the National Convention of France ſhould be *a committee of inſurrection againſt all the kings in the univerſe.*

Nothing can be imagined more mad than

this propoſition, the tendency of which is to force all the monarchs in Europe, in ſelf-defence to make war on the Republic: what private view Danton has in this, I do not know, but it evidently goes to the ruin of France.

The Aſſembly, however, becoming impatient to cloſe the diſcuſſion, ordered General Monteſquiou's letter to be printed, and referred the propoſition reſpecting Savoy to the conſideration of the diplomatic and the war committees.

Notwithſtanding the prudent conduct and brilliant ſucceſs of Monteſquiou, I am informed that there is no great probability of his being continued in his command. His enemies are of a diſpoſition not to forgive him for having reduced Savoy at the very time that they were aſſerting he would never enter it, or to forget the injuſtice they have already done him. Beſide theſe and the motives of diſlike previouſly mentioned,

they

they have another ground of hatred towards him, namely, his being a nobleman, and of a very ancient family. This appears equally unjuſt and abſurd:—unjuſt, becauſe a man of noble birth, who from a love of general freedom has adhered to the revolution, has more merit than they can boaſt who had no ſuch ſacrifice to make—and it is abſurd, becauſe, inſtead of giving no importance to the accidental circumſtance of birth, it is giving a great importance to it, which operates againſt the poſſeſſor. But if a man's nobility is not allowed, independent of perſonal merit, to be of ſervice to him, neither ought it to be allowed, independent of demerit, to injure him.

Accounts are arrived that Dumourier, having left a ſufficient force to haraſs the retreating army of Pruſſia, has quitted his own camp, and is ſoon expected in Paris.

October 11.

I was preſent this day for the firſt time at the

the Conventional Aſſembly, where a virulent attack was made on Dillon, one of the generals employed againſt the German army, and who, from the lateſt accounts, is now preſſing upon their rear at Verdun.

As it elucidates what immediately follows, I ſhall here inſert a ſhort account of Dumourier's memorable campaign, from the time he was appointed to the command till he left the army, although I was not acquainted with all the particulars till ſome time after this date.

General Arthur Dillon commanded the French army on the frontiers of Flanders, when he heard of the inſurrection of the 10th of Auguſt.

Dumourier, being at that time ſubordinate to him, commanded in the camp of Maulde. From the accounts which Dillon received of that affair, he conceived it to be a raſh inſurrection which would be diſapproved of by the nation, and that it would ſoon end in

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the ruin of all concerned in it. He therefore gave out an order to the army on the 13th, in which he ſaid, that the conſtitution had been violated by men who were the enemies of liberty; that he determined to remain faithful to the nation, to the law, to the king, and to the conſtitution framed by the aſſembly in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791, to which they had all ſworn.

He tranſmitted this order from Pont-ſur-Sambre, where he was with his army, to the camp of Maulde, with a letter to General Dumourier, directing him to publiſh it there.

Dumourier had a different idea of the tranſactions of the 10th. He ſaw that the public opinion went in favour of the ſucceſsful party; that it would be very difficult to wreſt the government out of the hands which had ſeized it; that an attempt of that kind by the army would immediately produce a civil war, and expoſe the country

to foreign invaſion; and that he himſelf would remain ſubordinate to Luckner, La Fayette and Dillon. Dumourier was nearer to Paris than Dillon, and had received earlier and, as is ſuppoſed, more diſtinct information from his friend Genſonné, of the ſtate of affairs. In his anſwer to Dillon's letter, he regretted that general's precipitancy, aſſured him that he would not publiſh the order in his camp, and adviſed Dillon to retract it without loſs of time.

He ſent at the ſame time an account of what he had done, and was diſpoſed to do, to his friends at Paris; and when the three commiſſioners from the National Aſſembly arrived, he not only took the oath of Equality himſelf, but perſuaded Dillon to do the ſame. That officer found no difficulty in explaining his conduct to the commiſſioners, aſſuring them, that it had proceeded from the miſrepreſentation which had been made to him of the affair of the 10th, but that he was

zealous to ſerve the French nation, whatever form of government they ſhould think proper to adopt.

The National Aſſembly were ſo much pleaſed with this conduct of Dumourier, that they gave him the ſupreme command of the army formerly under M. de la Fayette, placing Dillon, who is an elder officer, under him. Having no pretext for putting Dumourier above Luckner, and deſirous at the ſame time that the former ſhould be the efficient commander, they ordered Luckner to Chalons, to form an army there of the men who were marching from all parts to that place, where they were to be clothed, armed and ſent in detachments wherever the exigencies of the ſtate required. Kellermann was, at Dumourier's recommendation, ordered to replace Luckner as commander of the army in Lorraine; Biron and Cuſtine commanded the army on the Rhine, and Monteſquiou that which was ordered againſt

Savoy: all theſe officers took the oaths required by the Aſſembly, and made the armies under their orders take them alſo.

Dumourier ſent Dillon to command the army of the Ardennes, which comprehended all the troops placed in that part of the frontiers of France, between Rocroy and Montmedy. The two generals afterwards met at the town of Sedan; with a view to fix on future meaſures.

The enemy had already entered France, was in poſſeſſion of Longwy, the firſt fortified town on the frontier next to the dutchy of Luxembourg, and ſeemed at once to threaten Montmedy, Verdun and Thionville.

The Duke of Brunſwick's army was above 50,000 ſtrong: General Clairfait had joined him with 15,000 Auſtrians, beſide a conſiderable body of Heſſians and French emigrants, amounting in all to 90,000 men.

After leaving the frontier towns tolerably garriſoned,

garriſoned, Dumourier had not above 17,000 men to act immediately againſt this immenſe force; and theſe 17,000 had been uſeleſsly encamped between Sedan and Stenay, the Meuſe being fordable in numberleſs places between Stenay and Verdun, where the enemy had no oppoſition.

On comparing the ſtrength of the invading army with the weakneſs of that which was to oppoſe it, it was at one time imagined that all direct oppoſition would be vain, and that the moſt effectual meaſures would be, by a ſudden irruption into Auſtrian Flanders, to endeavour to divert the enemy from advancing againſt Paris: but the ſmall probability there was that ſuch an expedition, however ſucceſsfully conducted, would have the deſired effect, ſoon made that ſcheme be laid aſide; and Dumourier, inſpired by an immenſe deſire of renown, and truſting to the reſources of his own genius, and the enthuſiaſm which animated his

countrymen, reſolved, by the defending of poſts, and every other poſſible means, to attempt to check and retard the progreſs of the enemy, till he ſhould be reinforced by the army of Kellermann from Lorraine conſiſting of 20,000 men, by that which Bournonville was leading from Flanders which amounted to 13,000, and what Luckner had ſent to him of the new levies which were aſſembling at Chalons.

Small as Dumourier's force was, he had the courage, on the 29th of Auguſt, to detach from it two battalions of infantry, under the command of M. Galbaud, an excellent officer, who had orders to throw himſelf into Verdun, and aſſiſt in the defence of that town.

Dumourier gave the command of the advanced guard of his army to Dillon; it conſiſted of five battalions of infantry, with fourteen ſquadrons of light horſe. Dillon was ordered to march to Stenay, where

Dumourier

Dumourier intended to join him on the firſt of September, and diſpute the paſſage of the Meuſe with the enemy.

Dillon, with a thouſand horſe, puſhed on before the reſt of his troops, to Stenay, and was making arrangements for the defence of the place, when the advanced guard of the Auſtrian army, four thouſand ſtrong, with ſeveral pieces of cannon, appeared. Convinced of the impoſſibility of defending the town without infantry, and without cannon, he evacuated Stenay, croſſed the Meuſe, and drew up his troops upon the oppoſite ſhore of that river, ſending notice to his infantry, who were advancing, to return to the camp at Mouzon. When he himſelf retired to join them there, his rear was attacked by the Auſtrian cavalry, who were repulſed with conſiderable loſs, and Dillon arrived in ſafety at Mouzon in the middle of the night *.

* Compte rendu au miniſtre de la guerre, par le Lieut. General A. Dillon.

Dumourier advanced with his ſmall army to Mouzon on the firſt of September, and then marched on to Beaumont en Argonne, where Dillon had previouſly traced out a camp.

Finding that it was now too late to diſpute the paſſage of the Meuſe, Dumourier determined to make himſelf maſter of the various ſtraits in the foreſt of Argonne. This foreſt extends from the Chene le Populeux to Paſſavent, a ſpace of about forty miles; the German army, in marching to Paris, was under the neceſſity of going by ſome of theſe ſtraits, or making a conſiderable circuit by bad roads, and turning the foreſt. Dumourier detached Dillon with ſix thouſand men, to ſeize upon the very important paſs of Bieſme, near the Grandes Iſlettes, in the foreſt of Argonne. It is about ſeven or eight miles from Verdun, on the direct road from that city to Paris by Chalons. He had at this time heard nothing from Galbaud, and had no doubt

of

of Verdun's holding out a much longer time than would be neceſſary for Dillon to perform this ſervice. But Verdun ſurrendered by capitulation on the ſecond of September without having made any reſiſtanee, and Dillon would in all probability have arrived too late, had it not been for the ſagacity of M. Galbaud. When that officer came near to Verdun, he found it ſo completely inveſted by the Pruſſians, that it was impoſſible to execute the orders of Dumourier. He conſidered, in the next place, how he could employ the two battalions under his command moſt effectually for the public ſervice; and, anticipating the intentions of his commander, he marched them to Bieſme, and immediately ſent a meſſenger to Dumourier, to inform him of what he had done, and to demand a reinforcement. The army at Verdun, in advancing to Paris, were now under the neceſſity of forcing this poſt, or making a circuit

circuit of forty miles, by Varennes and Grand Pré on the north, or one ſtill larger by Bar-le-duc on the ſouth. Dumourier thought the former the moſt probable, for he poſted himſelf with the body of his army at Grand Pré. This is alſo a paſs in the foreſt of Argonne, requiring however a much greater force to defend it than that of Bieſme; to which Dillon marched with redoubled efforts, in the dread that Galbaud, who he had heard was in poſſeſſion of it, ſhould be forced before he arrived *.

While Dumourier remained at Grand Pré, he detached General Miranda with a body of two thouſand cavalry, to protect a convoy he expected, and alſo to reconnoitre the Pruſſian army, whoſe movements at this time ſeemed equivocal. Miranda performed this ſervice with ability and ſucceſs; an advanced guard of Pruſſians, conſiſting

* Compte rendu au miniſtre de la guerre, par le Lieut. General A. Dillon.

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of four thouſand, were poſted in ſuch a manner that they muſt have intercepted the convoy—He attacked and defeated them, and the convoy arrived in ſafety at Dumourier's camp *.

The march of Dillon from Mouzon to Bieſme, through a foreſt exceedingly difficult to traverſe, and ſo near to a ſuperior army, required military ſkill in the commander, and ſteadineſs in the troops, eſpecially as they were aſſured by the municipal officers of a village through which they paſſed, that Galbaud, diſcouraged by the terror ſpread among his troops by thoſe who came from Verdun, had quitted Bieſme, and fallen back towards Chalons, and that the town of Sainte-Menehould was in the poſſeſſion of the enemy. Dillon, however, having ſent couriers to all quarters to aſcer-

* Rapport des Commiſſaires de la Convention aux Armées reünies.

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tain thoſe facts, ſoon diſcovered that they were not true, and on the afternoon of the fifth of September effected his junction with Galbaud.

The troops were immediately employed in fortifying, by all the reſources of art, the natural ſtrength of this poſt, which was done ſo effectually that, when the King of Pruſſia in perſon, with the Duke of Brunſwick, reconnoitred the place from the heights near Clermont, they thought it too ſtrong to be forced.

Some people have ventured to cenſure the Duke of Brunſwick for neglecting to attack this poſt of Bieſme before Galbaud was reinforced by Dillon, or for not ordering Dillon to be oppoſed in his march from Mouzon to it.

It belongs to military men only, and ſuch as are acquainted intimately with the ſituation of the country, and the circumſtance

in which the German army was at that time, to decide on this point; but any one may naturally conclude, that a general of ſo high a reputation as the Duke of Brunſwick muſt have had ſufficient reaſons for acting as he did.

M. Gobert, adjutant general of Dumourier's army, and probably better qualified to judge of the conduct of the Duke of Brunſwick than moſt who have cenſured it, obſerves, that Galbaud was in poſſeſſion of the paſs on the 31ſt of Auguſt, that the garriſon of Verdun had joined him on the ſecond of September, and that the Duke of Brunſwick might naturally believe that many peaſants from the neighbouring villages would immediately reſort to Galbaud, and aſſiſt in defending the paſs, this being a kind of ſervice in which new troops might be as uſeful as veterans.

Whatever were the Duke's reaſons for waving

waving the attack of this poſt, the poſſeſſion of it enabled Dillon to afford protection to a number of villages ſituated on the river Aire, and put the Pruſſians to the neceſſity of long and moſt fatiguing marches, by Grand Pré to the camp of La Lune near St. Menehould, inſtead of going directly through Bieſme.

Dumourier was in poſſeſſion of the defiles of Grand Pré for ſome time before he was diſturbed, and at laſt became perſuaded that the Duke of Brunſwick meant to avoid the foreſt of Argonne altogether, and march to Chalons by Bar-le-duc. Under this conviction he wrote to Dillon that he was preparing with a ſtrong advanced guard to haraſs the rear of the enemy's army, who, he underſtood, were endeavouring to paſs by Dillon's right to Chalons. He directs him to leave 2000 men to guard the paſs; and then to aſſemble all the troops, and order them to

St. Mene-

St. Menehould, where he would endeavour to join him, and, with their united force, afterwards form a junction with Kellermann. He concludes his letter in theſe words :

" Faites raſſembler, par le tocſin, tous les payſans pour aller border les abattis : portez-vous tout-à-fait à votre droite, et dirigez-y tout ce qui ſe raſſemble à St. Menehould. Après notre jonction, nous nous arrangerons enſemble pour couvrir cette place et pour ſuivre le mouvement ſur Chalons. Faites ſonner le tocſin ſur toute votre route, j'en ferai autant, et cela deconcertera un peu la marche des Pruſſiens. Je commencerai mon mouvement à minuit *.

DUMOURIER,

Le Genéral en Chef de l'Armée du Nord."

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* Aſſemble all the peaſants by the alarm bell, that they may line the abatis †. Direct your march to the right,

† An abatis is formed by trees cut down and arranged with their branches towards the enemy, ſo as to form a kind of fortification.

It is probable that the Duke of Brunſwick had made ſome movements which indicated an intention of marching by Barle-duc to Chalons; or had otherwiſe contrived to ſpread this impreſſion, on purpoſe to conceal his real deſign, which was to force the defiles of Grand Pré.

Kellermann and Luckner were both deceived in this point. The former was ſo much convinced that the Duke's movement was a feint, that he had thoughts of marching from Sainte Dizier, where he then was, to Chalons, ſo as to arrive before the enemy.

right, and order all the troops who ſhall aſſemble at St. Menehould to move in the ſame direction. After our junction we will fix upon meaſures for covering that place, and attending the march of the enemy to Chalons. Order the alarm bells to be rung during your march, I will do the ſame; this will ſomewhat diſconcert the march of the enemy. I will begin my march at midnight.

(Signed) DUMOURIER.

Luckner

Luckner had ſent reinforcements to the army of Kellermann where they were not needed, inſtead of ſending them to Dumourier at Grand-Pré, by a ſhort route which Dillon had indicated.

Dumourier was ſoon convinced of his miſtake, and wrote the following letter to Dillon.

Grand-Pré le 12 Sept. l'an 4me de la Liberté.

LES enemies vous ont abandonné, mon cher Général, pour ſe porter ſur moi; ils me font une attaque dans le moment; je ne ſais pas encore ſi c'eſt la véritable, je crois que ce n'eſt qu'une feinte pour attaquer la Trouée du Chêne-le-Populeux *, ou je porte du renfort. Envoyez moi du

* This is a poſt on the north end of the Foreſt of Argonne, which Dumourier meant to defend. By the Trouée de Clermont he means the Straits of Bieſme.

ſécours, ſans cependant dégarnir la Trouée de Clermont.

Je vous embraſſe.

Le Général en Chef de l'Armée du Nord.

Signé DUMOURIER *.

On the following day Dillon received another letter from Dumourier, who, being aſſured that the enemy intended a ſecond attack with more force than that of the day before, and having received no ſuccours from Chalons, gave a poſitive order to Dillon to ſend him directly all the troops he could poſſibly ſpare without endanger-

* The enemy have left you, my dear General, to come againſt me; they begin an attack at this moment. I am not quite convinced that they are in earneſt, I rather ſuſpect that this is a feint to divert my attention from the paſſage of Chêne-le-Populeux, where they mean a real attack, and whither I am actually ſending reinforcements. Send me ſuccour, without however too much weakening the Strait of Clermont.

Comte Rendu par le Lt. Gén. A. Dillon.

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ing his own poſition. Dillon accordingly ſent him about 3000, the fourth of which was cavalry; and this was the only reinforcement which Dumourier received before he was obliged to quit Grand-Pré: but ſmall as this aid may be thought, it was as much as Dillon could in prudence ſend, becauſe the body of Pruſſians which had marched under the Duke of Brunſwick to Grand-Pré had been immediately replaced by 15,000 Auſtrians and Heſſians, who were afterwards reinforced to the number of 20,000, by whom he expected to be attacked every day.

It is probable that Dillon had emiſſaries near the perſon of the Duke of Brunſwick, who gave him notice of what paſſed, for his information is in general juſt; and in a letter to Kellermann, dated the 13th of September, he informs him, that Dumourier had been attacked the day before, and that the attack had been renewed the morning

of the 13th, without ſucceſs; and he adds, "Je ſais qu' hier le Duc de Brunſwick furieux a dit au Roi de Pruſſe—Je perdrai bien du monde, mais j'y paſſerai *."

The Duke of Brunſwick was as good as his word—On the 14th of September the attack of the Pruſſians was irreſiſtible. During the time that Dumourier was himſelf attacked, he was informed that a poſt called La Croix aux Bois, which General Chazot defended, was forced. Dumourier therefore was obliged entirely to abandon the paſſes of of Grand-Pré, and to direct his march to Sainte-Ménehould, where he had previouſly traced a camp in a very ſtrong poſition.—On his march, his army was ſo violently preſſed by the advanced cavalry of the Pruſſians, that it was thrown into confuſion, and part fled in a ſhameful man-

* I know that the Duke of Brunſwick ſaid to the King of Pruſſia yeſterday in a violent paſſion—I ſhall loſe a great many men, but I am reſolved to paſs.

ner,

ner, quite to the town of St. Menehould, which they entered, crying, "All is loſt!" and ſpreading diſmay on all ſides. Dumourier, in the account which he ſent to the Convention, ſeems to think that if the Pruſſians had puſhed on with vigour during this panic, his army might have been diſperſed.

Dillon happened to be at St. Menehould when the fugitives arrived—he did every thing in his power to prevent the terrour from ſpreading—he ſent detachments of horſe to the neighbouring villages to ſtop thoſe who fled, and prevent the alarm reaching Chalons, where it might have had the worſt effect on the new levies aſſembling under Luckner.

By Dillon's exertions, and the animating preſence of Dumourier, the army regained order, ſpirit, and confidence in their officers.

Thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this ſhameful manner were ſent in diſ-

grace from the army, which on the morning of the 15th entered the camp at St. Menehould, and began with all diligence to fortify it, in the perſuaſion that it would very ſoon be attacked. Bournonville, at the head of a body of 13,000 men, joined Dumourier on the 17th. The Duke of Brunſwick knew that Kellermann was near at hand with a greater force, and formed the plan of attacking him before he could join Dumourier. Kellermann, by forced marches, gained the heights of Valmy on the evening of the 19th. Valmy is within leſs than a mile of other heights, on which was the ſtrong camp of Dumourier. Kellermann received intelligence of the march of the Pruſſians during the night, which convinced him that he would be attacked the following morning. He made his diſpoſitions accordingly, and uſed every poſſible means of encouraging his ſoldiers. He walked through the lines with ſome of the

moſt

moſt popular officers, to animate them by their diſcourſe. The army anſwered them by huzzas, and the cry of Vive la nation! Kellermann's army extended from a village called Dammartin la Planchette, along the heights of Valmy. A free communication was kept up between his army and that of Dumourier, who ſent 8000 men to his aſſiſtance during the cannonade, which laſted the whole day. The Pruſſians manœuvred with their uſual coolneſs and addreſs, ſometimes forming into columns, as if their intention had been to attack with the bayonet, and ſometimes moving with an intention to ſurround Kellermann, and cut off his communication with Dumourier. The firmneſs of the French, under the ſkilful direction of their Generals, prevented the Pruſſians from accompliſhing either. Dumourier was in perſon at the batteries during ſeveral hours of the cannonade, and at the head of

his own troops to oppoſe the Pruſſians when they attempted to ſurround Kellermann. The ſuperior addreſs of the French cannoneers was apparent during the whole action; and the army in general ſhewed a degree of ſteadineſs which diſciplined troops alone have been ſuppoſed to poſſeſs, and rivalled the Pruſſians in ſteadineſs and obedience to their officers, while their natural vivacity appeared in ſongs and cries of Vive la nation! amidſt the carnage of the cannonade. In Kellermann's army there were above four hundred killed, and between five and ſix hundred wounded. The General himſelf narrowly eſcaped, his horſe being killed under him. It is ſaid, and it is moſt probable, that the loſs of the Pruſſians was conſiderably greater. What military men peculiarly admire in the conduct of Kellermann, was the ſkill he diſplayed that evening in changing his poſition in the preſence of

the

the enemy, to one ſtill more advantageous; by which his right wing touched the army of Dumourier, his left was protected by heights, eaſily defended, while in his front was a rivulet greatly ſwelled by the recent rains *. That he was not attacked during this manœuvre is not only a proof of the ability with which it was performed, but alſo forms a ſtrong preſumption of the great loſs which the Pruſſians had ſuſtained, and of their being diſcouraged by this unſucceſsful attack.

At the ſame time that the attack was made on the army of Kellermann, the 20,000 men which had been left at Clermont made an attempt on Dillon's camp at Bieſme.—The Duke of Brunſwick had been under the neceſſity of leaving this ſtrong party

* Obſervations ſur la Compagne de 1792, par Gobert, Adjutant Général.

behind,

behind, otherwiſe Dillon would have intercepted all his convoys; ſo that Dillon, with about five or ſix thouſand men, had detained 20,000 from the Pruſſian army when it marched againſt Dumourier and Kellermann. Thoſe 20,000 now marched to the attack of Bieſme; they were ſo confident of their own ſucceſs, and that Dumourier would be routed by the Pruſſians, that they made their whole equipage and baggage of every kind follow them, in the expectation that after they had forced the poſt of Bieſme, they would be ordered to join the Pruſſians and accompany them to Paris. Dillon's defence, however, was attended with the ſame ſucceſs as Kellermann's—the Auſtrians and Heſſians were repulſed and obliged to retire in great diſorder.

After theſe unſucceſsful attacks, the Duke of Brunſwick encamped his army at La Lune, near the army of Dumourier,

and

and between St. Menehould and Chalons. Here the Pruſſians, who had already ſuffered by ſickneſs, were greatly diſtreſſed from a want of proviſions. Bournonville, detached with a body of 4000 men by Dumourier, had intercepted ſeveral convoys that were advancing from their magazines at Grand-Pré. He intercepted in particular ſeveral droves of cattle going to the Pruſſians, and ordered them to be ſlaughtered for the uſe of his own army: for this laſt exploit, joined to his courage and ſtrength, he was called the French Ajax.—Nothing could bribe the French peaſants to carry any kind of neceſſaries to the Germans, while they flocked with ſupplies to the camp of Dumourier. It alſo was difficult and moſt expenſive for the Duke of Brunſwick, or any officer who commanded his detached parties, to procure intelligence, as they were ſurrounded with ſpies, who informed Dumourier of all their move-

ments.

ments. As the Pruſſians could procure no proviſions but from their own magazines, the ſcarcity was increaſed by the exceſſive rains which fell at this time, and rendered the roads uncommonly deep, and in ſome places almoſt impaſſable; in the mean time, the Pruſſians were more expoſed to the inclemency of the weather, and ſuffered more from cold, moiſture, and want of proviſions, than the French, who were protected in ſome degree from thoſe evils by the care and attention of their countrymen. To theſe diſtreſſes were added the vexation and diſcouragement which the Pruſſians muſt have felt at finding the whole country united againſt them, inſtead of a great proportion being diſpoſed to join them, as they had been made to expect.

There are profeſſions in which men ſometimes acquire great reputation with little merit; this may happen either from the public being no judges of the merit of

thoſe particular profeſſions, or becauſe ſucceſs in the profeſſion may ariſe from the merit of others who direct the meaſures of the individual who acquires the reputation.

This is often the caſe in the military profeſſion, at the top of which men are placed from the circumſtances of birth, independent of all idea of merit, and frequently in ſpite of the moſt glaring proofs of incapacity. In this profeſſion, likewiſe, men have acquired fame from ſucceſſes that have been entirely owing to the ſuperiour valour of their troops, and the ſuperiour ſkill of ſome ſubordinate officer.

But if the commanders of armies may on ſome occaſions acquire fame without deſerving it, no ſet of men are more expoſed to cenſure on account of ſiniſter events, which no ſagacity could foreſee, and no human power could prevent.

Few men have experienced this more than the Duke of Brunſwick, who has

been blamed for not marching directly to Chalons, or Rheims, as ſoon as he found himſelf between thoſe cities and Dumourier's army. Thoſe who make this criticiſm do not think of the danger and difficulty of marching with an enemy hanging on the rear, and intercepting the convoys of the advancing army.

But without taking farther notice of ſuch random cenſures, it is the opinion of many of the military profeſſion, that inſtead of remaining inactive at his camp at La Lune after the cannonade of the 20th of September, he ought to have attacked Dumourier at St. Menehould. Thoſe who hold this opinion ſay, that from the ſuperiority of the Pruſſians over the raw troops of France, he had a great probability of beating and diſperſing them, which would have ſpread ſuch an alarm that the levies which were marching againſt the Duke would have joined in the flight; and inſtead

ſtead of enemies, he would have met only friends on his way to Paris; for nothing is ſo efficacious as a victory, in converting enemies into friends.

I have been aſſured, that this meaſure was propoſed by the Marechal de Caſtries, in a Council of War held at La Lune; and his opinion was ſupported by that of M. de Poilly, a General Officer in the French army, who had reſided in that province, and had an accurate knowledge of the country; and that this attack of the camp of Menehould was alſo greatly deſired by the whole corps of French Emigrants.

Without any pretenſions to military knowledge, it is not difficult to conjecture what may have determined the Duke of Brunſwick againſt riſking ſuch a meaſure.

He certainly had entered France with a perſuaſion that he would be favoured by a great part of the country who diſliked the conſtitution: he had reaſon to believe

that

the events of the 10th of Auguſt, and the third of September, would render the people more averſe to the new government, and more favourable to his expedition. The eaſy conqueſt of Longwy and Verdun tended to confirm him in thoſe ſentiments. He found no very great difficulty in forcing the Straits of Grand-Pré.

Thus far therefore every thing rather had a tendency to encourage the Duke to proceed; but the action of the 20th of September, and the diſpoſition in which he found the country, muſt have had a very different effect on his mind. By the former he had the proofs of a firmneſs in the French army, and a ſkill in the General which he did not expect; and in the country, ſo far from any favourable diſpoſition towards his enterprize, every appearance was hoſtile in the higheſt degree. At his camp at La Lune his convoys were ſometimes intercepted; he could obtain no proviſions

viſions from the inhabitants, and his army was ſuffering under the complicated diſtreſs of want, and a dangerous epidemic; it is ſaid there were near ten thouſand ſick in his camp, and at Grand-Pré. In ſuch circumſtances an attack on Dumourier's army, now 70,000 ſtrong, and whoſe ſtrength he had already experienced, was not very promiſing of ſucceſs; and if unſucceſsful, would have been attended with the entire ruin of his own. But even upon the ſuppoſition that he had been victorious, the remains of the French army after a defeat, with the troops at Chalons, Rheims, Soiſſons, and in every part of the country, would have rendered the retreat of his army, diminiſhed by victory and enfeebled by ſickneſs, very dangerous if he had marched much farther into France.

As ſoon as it was evident that the country was againſt him, the Duke of Brunſwick's enterprize might have been conſidered as having failed. He had nothing

to think of but to effect a retreat, which he finally conducted with a ſkill equal to the higheſt reputation.

But he firſt propoſed a truce; during this a conference took place between the chiefs of the oppoſite armies. It has been ſaid, that Dumourier agreed to this with a view to promote deſertion among the German ſoldiers, by diſtributing the decree of the National Aſſembly for the encouragement of deſerters, and alſo in the hopes of inducing the King of Pruſſia to break with the Auſtrians, at this moment of indignation and diſappointment; and it has been aſſerted that Dumourier proved himſelf a much better politician than the Duke of Brunſwick on this occaſion. The reverſe of this however ſeems to be the truth; for if what is mentioned above were really Dumourier's objects in agreeing to the truce, he failed in both. There was no deſertion from the Pruſſian army, and the

King

King did *not* break with the Emperor; but it was of infinite importance to the Duke of Brunſwick, who had already determined on a retreat, to have a few days of truce, which he employed in conveying his artillery and heavy baggage undiſturbed from the camp of La Lune to Grand-Pré.

Nothing can be more uncandid and inconſiſtent than the manner in which the Duke of Brunſwick's conduct has been criticiſed—It is aſſerted in the firſt place, that he inconſiderately led his army into a ſituation ſo deſperate, that if they advanced, they muſt be all either killed or taken priſoners; if they retreated, one half muſt be cut in pieces; and if they remained where they were, they muſt be ſtarved:—Taking this account to be the true ſtate of the caſe, one would imagine that he ſhould be allowed ſome credit for having extricated his army from ſo perilous a ſituation—inſtead of which, we are told, that even in this, he ſhewed

leſs addreſs than the enemy, from whom he delivered them.

In confirmation however of my own opinion on this ſubject, I ſhall only add, that it was the Duke of Brunſwick who firſt propoſed the truce, and not Dumourier—that during the whole time it continued, his artillery and baggage were moving to Grand-Pré, and that as ſoon as he knew they were ſafe there, he renewed his original manifeſto, which he muſt have known would put an end to the truce. All thoſe circumſtances render it probable that, however acute and able Dumourier may be, the truce was more advantageous to the Duke of Brunſwick than to him.

On the thirtieth of September the Duke raiſed his camp at La Lune, and retreated with his whole army by Grand-Pré to Buſancy. The Auſtrians, under the command of General Clairfait, ſeparated from the Pruſſians; and paſſed the Meuſe at Stenay, and took the

neareſt way to the county of Luxembourg; while the Pruſſians paſſed at Dun, and purſued the courſe of the river to Verdun. Their march was ſlow, on account of the number of their ſick, as well as of the badneſs of the roads; but in ſuch order, that although purſued by numerous detachments of French, no conſiderable advantage was gained over them during this whole march.

When Dumourier ſaw the enemy in full retreat, and that they could attempt nothing of importance in that quarter this ſeaſon, he determined to go to Paris. He wiſhed to ſettle with the Executive Power a plan of operations for an immediate expedition into Auſtrian Flanders, whither he has ordered a great part of his army, and where he expects to gather freſh laurels. What gives a high idea of Dumourier's vigour of mind is, that in adhering to the plan of operations which he

had traced out for the defence of France, he reſiſted the injunctions which he frequently received from the adminiſtration at Paris—and took the whole reſponſibility upon himſelf. At Paris there was ſo great an alarm, on hearing that ſome German irregulars had been near Rheims, that they wiſhed him to fall back. And Servan, the war miniſter, has the following expreſſions in a letter to Dumourier, dated the 27th of September.

" J'eſpere toujours, mon cher Général, que vous reſterez convaincu, ainſi que nous, que vous n'avez plus un moment à perdre pour vous rapprocher de la Marne, afin de couvrir par la Chalons, Rheims, et les ſuperbes campagnes du Soiſſonnois et de la Brie; que nous import actuellement que l'ennemi occupe les plaines arides de la Champagne?" —And he ends the ſame letter with theſe words, " Perſonne ne vous voit tranquillement à Sainte Menehould tandis que les houlans

houlans viennent inſulter les fauxbourgs de Rheims*."

When we reflect on the character of the people Dumourier was accountable to for his conduct, and how little they are diſpoſed to forgive what they conſider as reprehenſible, we muſt the more admire his ſteadineſs. It is now generally ſaid, that if he had fallen back to Chalons and Rheims, the enemy might have got poſſeſſion of a plentiful country, and perhaps wintered in France.

He left Bournonville to harraſs the Pruſſians during their retreat. That General

* I hope, my dear General, that you are as much convinced as we, that you ought, without a moment's delay, to move towards the department of La Marne, on purpoſe to protect Chalons, Rheims, and the fertile fields of the Soiſonnois and La Brie. Of what importance is it to us that the enemy are in poſſeſſion of the barren plains of Champaigne?

We cannot with patience think of your remaining at St. Menehould, while the Hulans are inſulting the ſuburbs of Rheims.

followed them as far as Buſancy; and then being ordered to the army intended againſt Flanders, he was replaced by the Generals Kellermann and Valence, who, with all their zeal and activity, were not able to gain any advantage over this retreating and ſickly army.

Dillon, on his part, followed that body of Auſtrians and Heſſians who had attacked his poſt at Bieſme, and were now retreating by another route towards Verdun.

He had about 16,000 men with him, and the army he purſued was more numerous, and conſiſted of well diſciplined troops. Having heard that the Auſtrians and Heſſians were irritated againſt each other, and having been informed that the Landgrave himſelf had ſpoken with anger againſt the conduct of the Auſtrians, he wrote a letter from Domballe to that Prince, which he ſent by M. Gobert his Adjutant General, at the ſame time that he diſmiſſed M. Lindau,

dau, an Heſſian officer, who had been taken priſoner. In this letter, after ſome general reflections reſpecting the right of nations to change their governments, which it is not probable the Landgrave will think concluſive, Dillon aſſures him that he is ſurrounded in ſuch a manner that it will be very difficult for him to eſcape; but that if he will ſet out the following morning for his own country, and entirely evacuate the French territories with his troops, that he will be allowed to paſs undiſturbed by certain poſts which were at that time occupied by the French.

Dillon ſaw, that it was not in his power with 16,000 men to prevent the retreat of 20,000; but he thought if he could perſuade the Heſſians to ſeparate from the Auſtrians, he might cut off the latter.—It was not very likely indeed that the Landgrave would be ſo far deceived as to accept of Dillon's offer; but whatever may be thought

thought of the depth of the ſtratagem, It is evident that Dillon meant to ſerve, not to injure France; for he ſhewed the letter to General Galbaud before he ſent it, and he alſo gave a copy of it, with the Landgrave's anſwer, to Sillery, Carra, and Prieur, the Commiſſioners of the National Convention *.

But what puts Dillon's intentions out of all queſtion is, that on the 4th of October he intercepted a letter from the Director of the diſtrict of Etain, to the Landgrave of Heſſe, dated the firſt of October, by which it appeared that the Landgrave was expected to take his head quarters at Etain; on which Dillon ſent a courier from his camp at Sivry-la-Parche to General Favart at Metz, to inform him, that he intended to attack the enemy on their retreat, and that they were to retreat by Etain; to prove which he tranſmitted the intercepted letter to Favart, and deſired

* Rapport des Commiſſaires de la Convention.

him

him to ſend, a detachment from the garriſon of Metz to co-operate in haraſſing them.

He adds, " Faites avertir tous les villages, que tous les citoyens reprennent de la confiance, que l'on ſonne le tocſin par-tout, toutes les armes ſeront bonnes pour harceler l'ennemi, et tomber dans chaque defilé ſur ſes equipages. Faites proclamer que tous ceux que lui fourniront une livre de pain, ſont traitres à leur pays. Je le purſuivrai ſans rélache s'ils ſe retirent; je les combattrai s'ils reſtent," &c.*

General Dillon's letter to the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and the Landgrave's anſwer,

* " Let this be proclaimed in all the villages, that the citizens may recover their ſpirits; let the alarm be ſounded every where: all ſorts of arms will ſerve to harraſs the enemy, and to aſſiſt in attacking their carriages in every defile. Let it be proclaimed, that all who furniſh them with a ſingle pound of bread will be conſidered as traitors to their country. I will purſue them without relaxation if they fly—I am determined to fight them if they remain," &c.

were

were tranſmitted to the Convention without any commentary. They were read in the Aſſembly, and, inſtead of appearing meritorious or innocent, they had the moſt malignant and moſt unnatural conſtruction put on them by ſome of the members. Merlin of Thionville exclaimed, that this letter was a complete proof of Dillon's being a traitor.—This Merlin is a moſt zealous accuſer; he ſeems to think that by murdering the reputation of others, he ſhall accumulate a vaſt ſtock of fame to himſelf, as the Indian imagines that he becomes the immediate poſſeſſor of all the courage and dexterity of the enemy he kills. Merlin, not ſatisfied with the interpretation he had given to this letter to the Landgrave, reverted to Dillon's proclamation at Pont-ſur-Sambre and other parts of his conduct previous to the 10th of Auguſt; on all which he put the moſt malignant conſtruction,

and

and finiſhed by propoſing a decree of accuſation againſt him.

"One general officer," ſaid Kerſaint, "has already anſwered your decree of accuſation by a victory—How do you know that Dillon was not obeying the orders of Dumourier when he wrote the letter in queſtion?"

Couthon, in anſwer to Kerſaint, declared that no decree of accuſation could be better founded than that now propoſed againſt Arthur Dillon—He ſaid, he would not take into conſideration any thing laid to his charge before his letter to the Landgrave, but in the ſame breath he recapitulated whatever was moſt likely to injure him in the mind of the Convention reſpecting his conduct long before that time, and immemediately after the tenth of Auguſt.

Couthon labours under a diſeaſe which renders him unable to walk, or even to ſtand; and which ſeems to have communicated its malignity to his diſpoſition.

He

He is always brought in the arms of his ſervant from his carriage into the Aſſembly, and is indulged in the liberty of ſpeaking without riſing from his ſeat—He has the reputation of being a man of acute parts; there is a mildneſs in his countenance that is not found in his opinions, which are generally violent and ſevere. His ſpeech rendered the enemies of Dillon more furious—One member ſaid that he ſeemed inclined to make no other uſe of the army committed to his charge but as a ſafe-guard to conduct the enemies of France out of the country; another obſerved, that it was highly expedient that the Convention ſhould charge the Executive Power to take particular care that Dillon did not make his eſcape. And a third aſcended the tribune and made a motion which terminated the climax of intemperance and injuſtice—He propoſed that the three Commiſſioners ſhould be immediately

diately arreſted as traitors for not having ſuſpended Dillon from his command, the moment he ſhewed them a copy of the letter he had written to the Landgrave. Nothing could be more uncandid and captious than the ſpirit ſhewn by thoſe men on this occaſion; they muſt have known that Dillon had purſued the Heſſians and Auſtrians with indefatigable activity to Verdun, and that it was in conſequence of the batteries which he loſt no time in erecting againſt that town, that it ſoon after ſurrendered, but they could not forget Dillon's conduct on his firſt receiving the accounts of the proceedings at Paris on the 10th of Auguſt. Prudence and good policy indicate a different conduct; the beſt way ſurely to conciliate men to a revolution, is to preſent them with greater advantages under the new government than they enjoyed under the old.—But theſe furious reformers, whilſt they declaim againſt the

tyranny of the ancient government, present nothing in ſupport of the new, but accuſations, poniards and guillotines. With much difficulty, inſtead of an immediate accuſation, they at laſt came to a reſolution, that the Executive Council ſhould to-morrow ſtate to the aſſembly all the circumſtances relative to General Dillon's conduct to the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, before they made any decree reſpecting him

October 13.

I went this morning to the Conventional Aſſembly, and was admitted into the box where, on the 11th of Auguſt, I had ſeen the unfortunate family, now priſoners in the temple, ſeated.

The hall and galleries were uncommonly crowded, becauſe Dumourier, who arrived in Paris laſt night, was expected to come to the Aſſembly this day.

The forenoon was ſpent in debates, in which

which Buzot, Vergniaud, and ſome other of the moſt diſtinguiſhed members of the Convention took part. About one o'clock I ſaw one of the huiſſiers go to the Preſident, and I heard him acquaint him, that Dumourier attended in the adjoining room.

The Preſident, however, did not interrupt the debate, which continued for at leaſt an hour after this information was given. It was known to ſome in the Aſſembly, that Dumourier was waiting to be called in; ſeveral members thinking the Preſident was ignorant of that circumſtance, went up and whiſpered him—he ſignified by a nod that he already knew it, and allowed the debate to continue.

It ſtruck me as ſingular, that a General who in ſuch critical circumſtances had rendered the moſt important ſervices to his country, and was juſt returned victorious, ſhould be treated with ſuch coolneſs.—I have no doubt it was done on purpoſe, and,

in the republican ſpirit, intended as a hint to the General not to overvalue his importance.

At laſt, however, the Preſident read a letter from General Dumourier, in which he informs the Convention, that he deſires to pay his duty to them, and waits their orders. A member moved that he ſhould be admitted directly; and the General, attended by ſeveral officers, appeared at the bar, amidſt the applauſe of the Aſſembly, and the acclamations of the galleries.—He is conſiderably below the middle ſize, of a ſharp and intelligent countenance, and ſeems rather above 50 years of age. He pronounced the following diſcourſe, throwing his eyes occaſionally on a paper which he held in his hand.

" Citoyens Legiſlateurs — La liberté triomphe par tout: guidée par la philoſophie, elle parcourra l'univers, et s'aſſeoira ſur tous les trônes, aprés avoir écraſé le deſ-

poiſme, aprés avoir eclairé les peuples. Les loix conſtitutionelles auxquelles vous allez travailler, feront la baſe du bonheur et de la fraternité des nations. Cette guerre-ci ſera la derniére ; et les tyrans et les privilégiés, trompés dans leurs criminels calculs, feront les ſeules victimes de cette lutte du pouvoir arbitraire contre la raiſon.

" L'armée, dont la confiance de la nation m'avoit donné la conduite, a bien merité de la patrie: réduite, lorſque je l'ai jointe le 28 Août, à 17,000 hommes, déſorganiſée par des traitres que le châtiment et la honte pourſuivent par tout, elle n'a été effrayée ni du nombre, ni de la diſcipline, ni des menaces, ni de la barbarie, ni des premiers ſuccés de 80,000 ſatellites du deſpotiſme. Les defilés de la forêt d'Argonne ont été les Thermopyles, où cette poignée de ſoldats de la liberté a preſenté, pendant quinze jours, à cette formidable armée une reſiſtance impoſante. Plus heureux que les Spartiates, nous avons été ſecourus par deux armées

animées du même eſprit que nous. Nous nous ſommes rejoints dans le camp inexpugnable de Sainte Menehould. Les ennemis, au déſeſpoir, ont voulu tenter une attaque, qui ajoute une victoire à la carrière militaire de mon collégue, et mon ami, Kellermann.

" Dans le camp de Sainte Menehould, les ſoldats de la liberté ont deployé d'autres vertus militaires, ſans leſquelles le courage même peut être nuiſible : la confiance en leurs chefs, l'obéiſſance, la patience et la perſévérance. Cette partie de l'empire Français preſente un ſol aride, ſans eau et ſans bois, les Allemands s'en ſouviendront : leur ſang impur fécondera, peut être, cette terre ingrate qui en eſt abreuvée. La ſaiſon étoit très pluvieuſe et très froide : nos ſoldats étoient mal habillés, ſans paille pour ſe coucher, ſans couvertures, quelquefois deux jours ſans pain, parceque la poſition de l'ennemi obligeoit les convois à de longs

detours,

détours, par des chemins de traverſe très *mauvais* en tout tems, et *gatés* par des pluies continuelles; car je dois rendre juſtice aux regiſſeurs des vivres et des fourrages, qui, malgré tous les obſtacles des mauvais chemins, de la ſaiſon pluvieuſe, des mouvemens imprévus, ou que j'etois obligé de cacher, ont entretenu l'abondance autant qu'il leur à été poſſible; et je ſuis bien aiſe de publier que c'eſt à leurs ſoins qu'on doit la bonne ſanté des ſoldats. Jamais je ne les ai vus murmurer. Les chants et la joie auroient fait prendre ce camp terrible pour un de ces camps de plaiſance, ou le luxe des rois raſſembloit autrefois des automates enrégimentés pour l'amuſement de leurs maitreſſes ou de leurs enfans.

« L'eſpoir de vaincre ſoutenoit les ſoldats de la liberté; leurs fatigues, leurs privations, ont été récompenſées: l'ennemi a ſuccombé ſous la faim, la miſére et les maladies; cette armée formidable fut diminuée de moitié; les cadavres et les chevaux morts ja-

lonnent la route; Kellermann les poursuit avec plus de 40,000 hommes, pendant qu'avec un pareil nombre je marche au ſécours du département du Nord, et des malheureux et eſtimables Belges et Liégeois.

" Je ne ſuis venu paſſer quatre jours ici que pour arranger avec le Conſeil les details cette campagne d'hiver. J'en profite pour vous preſenter mes hommages. Je ne vous ferai point de nouveaux ſermens; je me montrerai digne de commander aux enfans de la liberté, et de ſoutenir les loix que le peuple ſouverain va ſe faire à lui même par votre organe *."

The

* Citizen Legiſlators—Liberty is every where triumphant; directed by philoſophy, ſhe will pervade the world, ſhe will cruſh deſpotiſm, open the eyes of mankind, and ſeat herſelf on the throne of the univerſe. Thoſe conſtitutional laws which you are about to frame will ſerve as a baſis for the union and happineſs of nations. The preſent war will be the laſt of wars, and the tyrants of the world, deceived in their criminal

The loud applauſe of all the deputies and ſpectators was renewed ſeveral times after

nal calculations, will be the ſole victims of this contention between arbitrary power and reaſon.

The army entruſted to my command by the public confidence has deſerved well of their country: reduced, when I joined it, to 17,000, and weakened by the machinations of ſhameleſs traitors, who I hope will one day meet the puniſhment they deſerve, it was never intimidated by the numbers, the threats, the barbarity, or even by the firſt ſucceſs of 80,000 ſlaves of deſpotiſm. The ſtraits of the foreſt of Argonne was the Thermopylæ in which that handful of the ſoldiers of liberty, for fifteen ſucceſſive days, preſented a reſiſtance which kept that formidable army in awe. More fortunate than the Spartans, we were ſuccoured by two armies animated by the ſame ſpirit with ourſelves; they joined us at the impregnable camp of Saint Menehould. The enemy, prompted by deſpair, hazarded an attack, which adds a victory to the military career of my friend and colleague Kellermann.

At St. Menehould the ſoldiers of freedom diſplayed other military virtues, without which valour itſelf may become hurtful, namely confidence in their officers,

after Dumourier had concluded, before the Preſident could make a reply, which he did at

obedience, patience and perſeverance. That part of France is barren, and deſtitute of wood and water. The Germans will remember it. Their ſlaviſh blood with which it is drenched, may perhaps render it more fertile. The weather was uncommonly wet and cold, our ſoldiers were ill clothed, they had neither ſtraw to lie upon, nor blankets to cover them, and ſometimes they were for two entire days without bread; for ſuch was the poſition of the enemy that our convoys were obliged to make a circuit, by croſs roads, at all times bad, but then rendered worſe by the late exceſſive rains. Here I muſt do juſtice to the commiſſaries of ſtores and forage: notwithſtanding all the obſtacles of bad roads, bad weather, and of ſudden movements, which I could not always foreſee, and, when I did, was often obliged to conceal, they ſupplied us as well as poſſibly could have been expected. And it is with pleaſure I take this opportunity of declaring, that the health of your army is owing to their extraordinary care and diligence. Amidſt all the difficulties I have ſtated, the ſoldiers were never heard to murmur: on hearing the ſongs of joy which reſounded from every corner of our warlike camp, it might have been miſtaken for one of

thoſe

at length in the following terms—" Citoyen General—L'accueil que vous venez de recevoir de la Convention Nationale, exprime

thoſe camps of pleaſure in which luxurious monarchs formerly aſſembled regimented automatons to manœuvre for the amuſement of their children and miſtreſſes.

The hope of victory ſupported the ſoldiers of liberty. Their fatigues and hardſhips have been fully compenſated. The enemy ſunk under fatigue, famine and diſeaſe. That formidable army was diminiſhed one half; directed by the dead bodies of men and horſes, Kellermann purſues them at the head of forty thouſand men.

I purpoſe to march immediately with the ſame number to ſuccour the department of the North, and to the relief of our allied and unfortunate friends, the inhabitants of Brabant and Liege.

I am come hither, for four days, to ſettle with the council the plan of our winter campaign.—I avail myſelf of the opportunity to pay my duty to you. I bind myſelf by no new oaths; but I will ſhew myſelf worthy of commanding the ſons of liberty, and faithful in ſupport of thoſe laws which the ſovereign people are now about to frame through you.

mieux que je ne le pourrois faire ſa ſatiſfaction de vos ſervices, et la haute opinion qu'elle a conçue de vos talens et de votre patriotiſme. Continuez, Citoyen General, continuez à diriger les ſoldats de la liberté dans le chemin de la victoire; continuez a vous couvrir de lauriers; continuez a bien ſervir la patrie, et vous acquirerez de nouveaux droits a la reconnoiſſance de la république.

" La Convention Nationale vous invite, ainſi que vos fréres d'armes à la ſeance *."

One of the deputies then moved, that the

* Citizen General—The reception you have met with from the National Convention is a ſtronger teſtimony than any expreſſion of mine could be, of their approbation of your conduct, and of their high opinion of your talents and patriotiſm. Citizen General, continue to lead the ſoldiers of liberty in the road of victory—continue to gather laurels—perſiſt in ſerving your country, and you will acquire new claims to the gratitude of the republic.

Con-

Convention ſhould authorize the Preſident to demand of General Dumourier what he thought reſpecting the affair of Dillon.

This was done accordingly, and Dumourier readily anſwered, that he had read a copy of the letter in queſtion; that he conſidered it merely as a bravado on the part of Dillon, and of little importance, eſpecially as General Dillon had ſoon after purſued the Heſſians with the utmoſt vigour.

Having ſaid this, Dumourier, with the officers who accompanied him, entered the hall—Many of the deputies roſe and ſaluted him, after which he ſeated himſelf among them.

Two officers then appeared at the bar, one of whom addreſſing the Aſſembly ſaid, "Legiſlators, the Adjutant General of the army of the North preſents you with a ſtandard taken in the midſt of fircand ſlaughter from the French emigrants; as ſoon as it was ſeen by the ſoldiers of liberty, they

they broke through the ſquadrons of thoſe traitors, and tore it from them."

The Preſident having made a ſuitable anſwer, Vergniaud obſerved, that ſeveral ſtandards which had been won from deſpotiſm were already hanging in the hall; that as thoſe were honourable trophies of the victories of the republic, they were worthy of being expoſed to the view of the citizens:—but as for this, he added, around which the enemies of their native country, a ſet of aſſaſſins whom you have deſtined to the ſcaffold fought:—this odious flag ought not to ſhock your ſight; I move, therefore, that it be delivered into the hands of the executioner, and publicly committed to the flames.

This propoſal was applauded and adopted. Dumourier remained in the Aſſembly till it broke up. He was dreſſed in the uniform of a General Officer, blue and gold lace; he is ſaid to be a great deal leſs

attentive to dreſs than is uſual in France; but in any dreſs I ſhould know him to be a Frenchman. He poſſeſſes the peculiar vivacity of air and manner that diſtinguiſhes the natives of this country. I underſtand that he is remarkably entertaining and agreeable in converſation; that though he has indulged in pleaſure, and yielded to diſſipation, yet he is capable of the moſt indefatigable exertion, both of body and mind, when the importance of the object requires it; that he has always been fonder of pleaſure than of money, and ever ready to ſacrifice both for renown. His enemies, who allow that he poſſeſſes great acuteneſs of mind, and the moſt unſhaken courage, throw doubts upon his ſteadineſs in other reſpects. His military talents have been ſufficiently evinced in the courſe of the laſt memorable campaign: without the ſingular circumſtances which raiſed him to command, and drew them into action, the

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man who with inferior force baffled the attempts of the moſt renowned Generals of the age, would have remained undiſtinguiſhed and ſubordinate to thoſe on whom birth without talents, or age which has not profited by experience, ſo often devolves the command of armies.

Paris, October 13.

The minds of the Pariſians are greatly elevated by the wonderful ſucceſs of the French arms. The repulſe of the Auſtrians at Lille, the fortunate expedition of General Anſelme into the county of Nice, the reduction of Savoy, the rapid progreſs of Cuſtine on the Rhine, and above all, the retreat of the Pruſſians, are events of a nature to have raiſed the national vanity of a people leſs ſuſceptible of its influence than the French.

They ſeem convinced that their arms are irreſiſtible, and they begin to indulge the moſt

moſt romantic ideas. Of all failings to which mankind are liable, vanity is the moſt comfortable; and perhaps it may be fortunate for a people entangled in circumſtances rather vexatious, to have this for a compenſation. But ſhould the Convention be affected in the ſame way, it may be attended with afflicting conſequences to the country. I heard ſome things this day in the Aſſembly, and alſo from one of the deputies, with whom I had ſome converſation ſince, that give reaſon to ſuſpect that the romantic notions above alluded to are not confined to the people without doors.

The late ſucceſſes are imputed, beſide the valour of the troops, to the ſuperiour dexterity, ſagacity, and natural quickneſs of the French cannoniers over thoſe of all other nations.

It has been propoſed to erect a monument in the town of Varennes in commemora-

tion

tion of the flight of two kings, meaning Lewis XVI. who fled to that town, and the King of Pruſſia, who lately retired through it; thoſe who make the propoſal give this inſcription for the monument, *Regibus fugatis;* and add this reflection, *Dans peu, chaque état aura ſa Varennes.*

Every ſtroke of ſatire directed againſt kings is ſure of being well received by the Convention.

The War Miniſter ſeems ſenſible of this—He tranſmitted to it lately an intercepted letter, which he pretends is from ſome perſon at Berlin, addreſſed to the Pruſſian Miniſter, Biſchofswerder, in which the writer aſſerts, that the people are highly diſpleaſed at the part their ſovereign has taken againſt the French nation, and that the following epigram on that ſubject is read with delight—" Un jour Dieu voulut épargner une ville a cauſe d'un juſte qui y étoit;

y étoit; aujourd'hui un prince Allemand veut faire périr toute la France pour un imbécille couronné qui s'y trouve."

But in the midſt of this exaltation on account of their ſucceſs againſt external enemies, and of all this ſeverity againſt kings, the repreſentatives of the people ſeem not to have it in their power to puniſh the inſolence of certain perſons within the city of Paris.

The Convention decreed, that the election of the municipal officers of Paris ſhould be by ballot. Certain turbulent people, who wiſh the electors to be overawed by the mob, diſapproved of this, and prevailed on the ſection of the Theatre François to proceed according to the old method of voting aloud.—For this act of diſobedience and contempt the Preſident and Secretary of the ſection were ordered to appear at the bar of the Aſſembly.—Being queſtioned by the Preſident, they anſwered in a ſtyle that by

no means indicated repentance; yet as they did not avow an intention of perſiſting in their diſobedience, a very ſlight apology was accepted, and the two culprits were admitted to the honours of the ſitting—of courſe this feeble attempt to maintain authority will encourage diſobedience. Buzot took this occaſion to urge the neceſſity of adopting the meaſure of having a body of troops at the command of the Convention, to enſure obedience to its decrees, and protect the perſons of the deputies.

There are certain members of the Aſſembly, who, deriving their importance entirely from the favour of the rabble, are prepared to oppoſe this meaſure; but as the majority approve of it, their oppoſition, it is thought, will be ſoon overcome.

October 14.

I was ſitting this morning in the Conventional Aſſembly, when ſuddenly the

firing of cannon was heard—This produced ſome ſigns of emotion among the deputies, who, like me, were ignorant of the cauſe.

Having been accuſtomed to ſuch ſounds on account of victories, or ſome other occaſion of public rejoicing, a noiſe of this nature was formerly apt to excite chearful and agreeable ideas only. The impreſſion I had in the preſent inſtance was of a very different nature. The firing which took place when the Royal Family were ſitting in the ſame box on the 10th of Auguſt, inſtantly ſprang up in my mind; an idea cloſely linked with that of the execrable ſecond of September, and the dreadful peal which was the harbinger of three continued days and nights of blood and ſlaughter.

Thoſe unpleaſant reflections were removed when I was informed that the firing in the preſent caſe was on account of the feſtival which had been decreed for the

ſucceſs of the arms of the Republic in Savoy.

I immediately left the Aſſembly, and went through the gardens of the Tuileries to the Place de Louis XV. now called the Place de la Revolution.

A ſtatue, with the emblems of Liberty, was placed on the pedeſtal on which the equeſtrian ſtatue of Lewis XV. formerly ſtood. On the eaſt and weſt ſide of the pedeſtal was inſcribed, République Françoiſe, 1792: on the ſouth ſide, Entrée de Monteſquiou à Chambéry, Capitale du Duché de Savoye; on the north, Entrée d'Anſelme, dans le Comté de Nice et Montalban.

A large body of the national guards, with a number of armed citizens from all the different ſections of Paris, with diſplayed banners, marched in proceſſion to the place.

A deputation from the National Convention,

tion, and another from the Municipality of Paris, attended at an amphitheatre erected for the purpoſe, near the ſtatue of Liberty. A great number of Savoyards of both ſexes and all conditions, holding each other by the hand, and with every appearance of joy, preceded by a band of muſic, marched between two long ranks of men armed with pikes, to the ſquare, and were received by the acclamations of an immenſe number of ſpectators. All the colours and banners of the different regiments aſſembled in the ſquare were arranged around the ſtatue of Liberty. A numerous band of muſic then performed the hymn of the Marſeillois, and that favourite ſong was ſung by ſome choſen ſingers of the band; and moſt of the people with whom this vaſt and magnificent ſquare was crowded joined in the chorus. After which the cannon were repeatedly fired, and in the intervals

the ſky reſounded with univerſal ſhouts of Vive la République!

The hymn of the Marſeillois is called for every evening at every theatre in Paris, and nothing can exceed the enthuſiaſm with which it is heard.

I went laſt night to a new muſical piece called the Epheſian Matron. The houſe was pretty full, but the appearance of the audience was very different from what I recollect to have been uſual on ſuch occaſions before the Revolution.

The women ſtill diſplay fancy and ſome degree of elegance in their dreſs, but the men are univerſally dreſſed with the utmoſt ſimplicity. I ſat in the parquet next to a remarkably tall man wrapt in a drab coloured great coat, who ſeemed between ſixty and ſeventy years of age. On his withdrawing, I was told that this was Admiral d'Eſtaign, who commanded the

French

French fleet and army in America and the Weſt Indies in the laſt war.

The conduct of the Count d'Eſtaign was more univerſally approved of during the late war, than ſince the Revolution.

He was Commander of the national guards of Verſailles in October 1789, when a mob from Paris broke into the palace, murdered ſome of the guards, and committed many ſhameful exceſſes.

M. d'Eſtaign appeared to be at once a friend to the principles of the Revolution, and an aſſiduous courtier.

In a nation whoſe conſtitution is mellowed by time, and where the ſubjects have experienced the bleſſing of that liberty which the ſpirit of their anceſtors obtained, united to the tranquillity ariſing from the monarchical form of their government; a love of freedom not only is compatible with attachment to the monarch,

but, as long as he governs according to the principles of the conſtitution, thoſe ſentiments mutually ſtrengthen each other.

But, in a nation on whoſe government the ſcions of freedom are but newly engrafted, at the expence of the monarch, and without having hitherto produced any palatable fruit, the caſe is different. The ſtruggles and animoſities between thoſe who produced the alteration, and thoſe who oppoſed it, are too recent; mutual ſuſpicion and a ſenſe of mutual accuſations are ſtill exiſting; and he who attempts to be the friend of both parties, is truſted by neither.

M. d'Eſtaign has taken no part in the lateſt tranſactions; he ſeems to deſire to live unnoticed, and hitherto he has been undiſturbed.

October 15.

The emigration of the nobleſſe has been ſo very extenſive, that it is rare to meet with any perſon of name within the walls of Paris, particularly any who have ever been

been employed or entruſted with the ancient government. Yet thoſe of this deſcription, who venture to remain in France, are perhaps in leſs danger in Paris than in a provincial town; becauſe in the capital there is always a ſufficient force to ſuppreſs *partial* and *incidental* tumults, provided the magiſtrates are diſpoſed to call it forth, and make uſe of it; whereas in the villages and provincial towns a tumult may be excited, which the magiſtrates, were they ever ſo much inclined, are unable to quell.

A groundleſs ſuſpicion, or a calumny invented and propagated by an enemy, may kindle the fury of a few fanatics, and the head of the perſon who is the object of it, may be fixed on a pike before the magiſtrate can aſſemble force to protect him.

His innocence is made apparent when it is too late; every body laments his fate; the murderers however are excuſed, becauſe they were miſled (*egaré* is the palliative word

word uſed on ſuch occaſions) by the nobleſt of all errors, too much zeal for their country's good; and tranquillity is reſtored only till freſh ſuſpicions and calumnies excite new murders.

I heard a petition read in the Convention from the widow of a ſword-cutler of Charleville. A report had been ſpread that he furniſhed arms to the enemy: this immediately rouſed the people, and in the firſt fury of their civiſme, as it is called, they cut off his head. Very ſoon after it appeared that the report was falſe, and that the unfortunate ſword-cutler had always been a zealous patriot. Some of the deputies ſeemed very much ſhocked at this; but I heard one obſerve, with great coolneſs, that he was ſorry for what the people of Charleville had done; and then added, with an air of ſagacity, "but the beſt people in the world are liable to be miſtaken."

However ready the French are to accuſe individuals,

individuals, the inhabitants of the moſt deſpotic country are not more afraid of ſpeaking treaſon, than the French are of ſaying any thing to the diſadvantage of the *people*: no nation was ever more indulgent to the caprices of its tyrant, than France is at preſent, to that moſt capricious and bloody of all tyrants, Le Peuple Souverain.

Some of the battalions which have been lately raiſed at Paris, though retained in tolerable ſubordination while they continued within the capital and ſurrounded with the national guards of all the ſections, have been guilty of great exceſſes ſince they left it—The firſt diviſion of the gendarmes à pied de Paris, on entering lately into the town of Cambray, broke open the priſon, and ſet all the priſoners at liberty except one man, whom they, in their wiſdom, thought juſtly confined.—On theſe troops leaving the town, all the priſoners whom they had ſet free were again confined by order

order of the magiſtrates; but the ſecond diviſion paſſing through the ſame town the day following, threw open the priſons once more, and beheaded the unfortunate perſon whom their companions had kept in confinement when they gave freedom to all the other priſoners. They murdered, in the ſame manner, ſeveral of their officers, who were endeavouring to prevent their exceſſes, and bring them to order. An official account of thoſe alarming tranſactions has been read to the Convention, and was immediately referred to the war committee; but what makes it doubtful whether any effectual meaſures will be taken to puniſh thoſe aſſaſſins, is, that Marat continues to palliate, and almoſt to juſtify every crime of this nature that is committed, whether by the populace or ſoldiers: until the Aſſembly are able and willing to ſuppreſs his Journal, and puniſh the Author, what hope is there that they will have it in their power to remedy

or

or prevent that blood-ſhed and anarchy to which the ſpeeches and writings of this man ſo greatly contribute?

October 16.

The committee appointed to ſuperintend the camp and entrenchments forming near Paris, made ſome propoſitions yeſterday to the Convention. They were not agreed to: one member ſaid, that the pitiful farce of *la precautione inutile* had been acted too long, and propoſed that an immediate ſtop ſhould be put to that work, which, after ſome debate, was decreed.

All ideas of defence are now thought uſeleſs. Nothing but attack, and taking vengeance on the enemies, and maintaining the dignity of the Republic, is now ſpoken of.

If, however, there be dignity in aſſuming ſome degree of loftineſs in tranſacting with the powerful Potentates who invaded the country, there ſurely is none in affecting a dictatorial tone with the weakeſt of their neighbours.

neighbours. This domineering ſpirit however appears too much in the conduct of the Convention towards Geneva, the comfortable condition of whoſe citizens for a ſeries of years has ſufficiently proved that the happineſs of the ſubject does not depend on the extent of the State's territories. Geneva has been conſidered as the nurſery of freedom, and has long maintained, by the prudence of her councils, that independency which was obtained by the valour of her citizens, whoſe prudent conduct the French would do well to imitate, if they wiſh the Republic of France to be as durable as that of Geneva.

Some members of the Convention have taken offence, becauſe Geneva lately thought proper to demand thoſe ſuccours from the cantons of Berne and Zurick, to which they are intitled on emergencies like the preſent by exiſting treaties.

Although France had not invaded Savoy,

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the ſtate of diſorder in which the former has been, the exceſſes which have been committed by the French army in various parts of the country, in ſpite of the decrees of the Convention at Paris, rendered it highly expedient for the Republic of Geneva to take every meaſure in her power to ſecure the town from a ſudden attack. For, however well diſpoſed the Convention might be, who could ſay that a band of patriots, ſome independent portion of the peuple ſouverain, would not, without conſulting the Convention, ſeize on Geneva? But meaſures of precaution became ſtill more neceſſary when France declared war againſt the King of Sardinia, and when a French army was ready to invade Savoy; for, as the poſſeſſion of the city of Geneva might be advantageous to either of the armies, in order to preſerve a ſtrict neutrality, it was neceſſary to guard it from both. The Republic therefore received within the walls of Geneva

1500 men of the militia of Zurick and Berne; a force which, joined to that of the citizens, might ſecure the town from being ſeized by a ſudden aſſault, but could not be conſidered as an act of hoſtility againſt France, even although there had been no previous treaty between Geneva and the Swiſs cantons by which ſhe was entitled to claim this ſuccour.

Geneva is acknowledged by all the powers of Europe as an independent ſtate: it ſeems contradictory to acknowledge ſovereignty and independency in a ſtate, and then complain of ſo natural an exerciſe of it as the calling in the aid of neutral powers to enable it to maintain ſtrict neutrality.

The Convention ſeems, however, to have been guilty of this contradiction, and at the ſame time diſplayed unbecoming pride in ſuperciliouſly paſſing to the order of the day at the meeting of yeſterday, after hearing the explanations from the council of

neva read, and in approving of the haughty conduct of their commiſſioners towards that ſtate. This ill accords with the prudent and pacific tenor of the declarations which the National Aſſembly formerly made, and ſtamps credit on the aſſertions of the enemies of the Revolution, that the treatment which Geneva now receives from the new Republic is a ſpecimen of what all the neighbouring States may expect.

Although it may be thought natural that a monarch, particularly an arbitrary one, ſhould, from motives of vanity, avarice, or ambition, endeavour to extend his dominions by war and conqueſt; yet the vanity or avarice of a private citizen of Paris, Lyons, Marſeilles, or any other part of France, can be little gratified by the acceſſion of new provinces. France, therefore, being now a Republic, the ambitious and reſtleſs ſpirit of her kings, that fatal ſource to which the other States of Europe have

imputed almoſt all the wars of the two laſt centuries, being now dried up, long peace and tranquillity is to be expected when this new form is acknowledged and eſtabliſhed.

This reaſoning ſeems plauſible *a priori*:—it is unfortunate, however, that the hiſtory of the world ſhews that Republican States have been inſpired with as violent a deſire of conqueſt, and as reſtleſs an ambition, as any monarch from the age of Alexander to that of Lewis XIV. And the ſpirit which the new Republic of France begins already to manifeſt, gives no reaſon to expect that the philoſophy from which ſhe boaſts her origin, has taught her more moderation than her predeceſſors.

Independent of the diſlike one naturally feels of an act of power unſupported by juſtice, I confeſs I could not ſee my old friends, the citizens of Geneva, treated in this manner without indignation.

When the Convention is conſidered as main-

maintaining the independency of their country againſt a powerful league, and undiſmayed by the idea that all the powers of Europe may join in the combination, it is impoſſible not to reſpect their firmneſs. But when they are ſeen behaving with haughty injuſtice to a neighbouring people devoid of the power of reſiſtance or retaliation, and reſpectable from their talents and virtues only, the conduct of the Convention excites a very different ſentiment.

October 16.

The Convention ſhewed more moderation this day in their conduct towards the Republic of Genoa, than they had manifeſted towards Geneva; although for many obvious reaſons it might have been expected they would have been partial rather to the latter.

The miniſter for foreign affairs informed them, that in a quarrel which had happened

in the port of Genoa, between ſome Venetian ſoldiers and the crew of the French frigate Juno, the flag of the frigate had been pulled down and torn in pieces; in conſequence of which the Venetians had been impriſoned, and condemned, by a decree of the Senate of Genoa, to provide the frigate in a new flag before they ſhould be ſet at liberty. The miniſter gave it as his opinion, that as he underſtood the French ſailors were the aggreſſors, no farther notice ſhould be taken of this affair, but that the Convention ſhould remain ſatisfied with the deciſion of the Senate of Genoa.

Several of the members differed in opinion from the miniſter. One deputy ſaid, that the deciſion of the Senate of Genoa would have been conſidered as ſufficiently ſatisfactory under the ancient government, becauſe then ſhips of war were given by the favour of princes, of their miſtreſſes, and of their valets; and thoſe appointed to com-

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mand them were of as frivolous characters as thoſe by whoſe influence the appointments were obtained. But France being now formed into a Republic, where talents, exertion, and the manly virtues alone can lead to promotion, or ſituations of confidence, and above all, at this time, when the cauſe of freedom is triumphant, more ample redreſs ſhould be inſiſted on.

I perceive that many people expect a great improvement, both in the army and navy, in all eſſential points, from the new order of things which began in France on the 20th of laſt September.

It will ſoon be put to trial whether the rough Republican qualities will render men better officers than that gallant ſpirit and delicate ſenſe of honour, which, in ſpite of effeminacy and corruption, always formed part of the character of the French nobleſſe.

I have had frequent converſations with deputies who are ſuppoſed to have con-

ſiderable weight in the Convention, concerning the probable fate of the King: they ſeem to be perſuaded that the majority of the Aſſembly, including the moſt reſpectable members, are inclined to baniſhment, and are endeavouring to poſtpone every motion tending to bring on the trial till the people have cooled ſo far as to be ſatisfied with ſuch a ſentence, which they fear is not the caſe at preſent. A remark made by one of the deputies, it is thought, had great effect on the Convention: the remark was, "Charles I. eut des ſucceſſeurs, les Tarquins n'en eurent point *."

It is a dreadful thing to think that a judicial or legiſlative aſſembly, ſuppoſed to be ſupreme, and which ought to be influenced by no conſiderations but thoſe of juſtice and public good, ſhould, in a matter of this

* Charles the Firſt had ſucceſſors, the Tarquins had none.

moment

moment to their country, and to their own conſciences, be under any kind of conſtraint.

As far as I can perceive however, the real citizens, or bourgeoiſe of Paris, by no means deſire the death of the King; and if by the people is underſtood the profligate idle rabble of the ſuburbs, and the wretches who are hired to clamour in the public places, what probability is there that they will ever cool, or be ſatisfied with any deciſion except what thoſe who hire them, or their own ſavage diſpoſitions, ſuggeſt?

This very day, in the Convention, I had an opportunity of judging how little the hopes given by the deputies above mentioned are to be relied on. For at a time when there was no queſtion regarding the King, a member aſcended the tribune and ſaid, "He was going to remind the Convention of a part of their duty to their country, of the higheſt importance, namely, the proceſs of

Lewis Capet (this is the name they generally give the King), which had been too long poſtponed; he therefore demanded that a day might be fixed for his trial, that the wrongs of the nation might be avenged by the blood of that traitor."

By trial it is evident he meant execution. I underſtand his name is Hardy, deputy of the department de Seine Inferieure.—He is a well-looking young man; but the harſhneſs of his ſentiment formed a ſtrong contraſt with his countenance. This gave riſe to many intemperate and fooliſh expreſſions from other members who ſupported the motion for the trial, which they alſo uſed as ſynonimous with execution. One talked of the martyrs of Liberty who had fallen before the palace on the 10th of Auguſt, whoſe ghoſts called for vengeance on the perjured Lewis. And when another ſuggeſted that "the papers reſpecting the King's treachery ſhould be printed and delivered

livered to the members, and that it would require a conſiderable time before judgment could be pronounced; a third aſſerted, that "Lewis Capet could not be conſidered as King, becauſe royalty was aboliſhed in France—What is he then? why, a ſimple individual, in a ſtate of confinement for trial: but the law, continued he, expreſsly ſays, that every perſon confined for a crime ſhall be brought to his trial within the ſpace of 24 hours of his being arreſted; the aſſaſſin Lewis has been too long confined, and ought to be brought to trial and puniſhed as ſoon as poſſible."

On this, as on other occaſions, I obſerved that the people in the galleries redoubled their applauſe as often as cruel things were ſaid, and violent meaſures propoſed. This ſeemed to become a motive with thoſe who wiſhed to ingratiate themſelves with the multitude, to proceed in making new propoſals; the laſt always more violent than the

former. Yet the diſcuſſion was not premeditated, at leaſt it ſeemed to me to ariſe accidentally.

Ruhl, one of the members for the department of the Lower Rhine juſt arrived from Straſbourg, informed the Convention, that he had on the road paſſed a party of dragoons who were conducting thirteen Emigrants to Paris, who had been taken in arms on the frontiers—He was afraid that thoſe unhappy men were in danger of being deſtroyed by the populace as ſoon as they ſhould arrive, and thought it his duty to acquaint the Convention that meaſures might be taken for their ſafety until they ſhould be legally tried. Whether Ruhl introduced the Emigrants with an intention to divert the Convention from the trial of the King, I know not; but for ſome time it had that effect, the debate turned to the ſubject of the Emigrants—But one member ſeemed diſpleaſed with this, and abruptly exclaimed

exclaimed, There are others more guilty than all theſe Emigrants, and whoſe trial is more preſſing. " Je veux parler de Louis XVI. je demande que ſon procés commence."

The debate recommenced reſpecting the trial, and ſoon became as intemperate as at firſt. From the hard unfeeling things that were uttered, one might have thought that the hearts of the diſputants were of flint: they ſtruck fire from each other ſo faſt, and wrought themſelves into ſuch heat, that I expected ſome violent reſolution would have been taken directly.

Téte à téte, or in a very ſmall circle, the French are nearly as calm, and generally more ingenious, than moſt of their neighbours; but a numerous aſſembly of Frenchmen almoſt always become turbulent.

Barbaroux of Marſeilles then roſe, and had the addreſs to put an end to the debate; the argument which proved effectual, did

little

little honour to thoſe on whom it had influence. He began by aſſerting the right of the Convention, in conſequence of the power tranſmitted by the people, to judge the King.—After having expatiated on this topic at ſome length, he added, "But it is expected by all Europe that you will proceed in a buſineſs of that important nature with all poſſible prudence and deliberation:" [Here ſomething of a murmur was heard in the gallery]—becauſe, added he raiſing his voice, perhaps Lewis and Marie Antoinette are not the only criminals whom the ſword of juſtice has to ſtrike."

He no ſooner uttered this, than the incipient murmur ended in acclamations of applauſe.—The certainty which this implied not only that the king and queen would be tried, but condemned and executed, and that ſeveral others would meet with the ſame fate, ſeemed to pleaſe them ſo much, that they were ſatisfied with a delay, which

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perhaps would not have otherwiſe been carried, and which was all that the moderate part of the Convention (who were convinced of the injuſtice and imprudence of proceeding againſt the King) durſt at that time propoſe, or had reaſon to expect.

October 17.

General Dumourier ſet out early this morning to take the command of the army deſtined againſt Auſtrian Brabant. Some nights ago, accompanied with ſome of his officers, he attended the meeting of the Jacobins: it is good policy in the General of a French army to pay this piece of reſpect to a ſociety which has ſo great and ſuch extenſive influence.—He addreſſed them to this purpoſe; "Citizens, you have torn the hiſtory of deſpotiſm, you have ſaved France, your efforts in the cauſe of Freedom are engraved by the hand of Liberty on the hearts of all good Frenchmen:

we are going to finiſh what we have begun, and we will fulfil your expectations, or periſh in the attempt."—Danton, who was preſident, anſwered him to the following effect: "Citizen General, when La Fayette took flight, you did not deſpair of the ſafety of the Republic; you rallied our troops weakened by treachery and diviſion; you repelled with a few ſoldiers the numerous armies of tyrants; you have deſerved well of your country:—under your direction the republican pike ſhall break the regal ſceptre, and the cap of liberty ſhall annihilate the diadem—We are your brethren and your friends, and your name ſhall make a ſhining figure in our hiſtory." Other members ſpoke in praiſe of Dumourier, who at length retired amid the applauſe of the ſociety.

I went this evening to the ſociety of the Jacobins, and was witneſs of a ſcene of a different kind, and which was little to be

expected ſo ſoon after what is above deſcribed.

It will be proper to mention here an affair which happened about eight days before the General's arrival at Paris.

Dumourier had written a letter to the Convention, informing them, that the Pariſian battalions of Mauconſeil and Republicain had committed a crime which threw diſhonour on the French nation, by maſſacring four Pruſſian deſerters in the town of Rethel, in the department of Ardennes. The particulars of this ſhocking affair he tranſmitted to the miniſter of war, and they appear in a letter from General Chazot to Dumourier, which was read in the Convention. The four men in queſtion were dragoons, who deſerted from the Pruſſians to Rethel, where they inliſted in the French army. Some ſoldiers of the battalions above mentioned, having met the four deſerters in a tavern, picked a quarrel with them, abuſed them as traitors to their country, dragged them into

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the ſtreets, and threatened to behead them. Chazot, who was in the town, hearing of this, ſent orders to protect the men; but the greateſt part of the ſoldiers of both battalions being now joined, formed too ſtrong a body for any force the General had to uſe againſt them: all that his meſſengers could obtain of thoſe mutineers therefore was, that they ſhould carry the deſerters before the General, which was done accordingly. He uſed every argument and every perſuaſion (for no other means were in his power) to prevail on theſe mutinous madmen to uſe no violence to the deſerters: ſo far from ſucceeding, ſome of the wretches cried out, *Si le Général s'oppoſe à nos deſirs, il faut l'expédier**.

Chazot, finding that his remonſtrances only rendered them more furious, puſhed through the crowd, and with difficulty eſcaped to his horſe and rode away. He was no

* If the General oppoſes our wiſhes, he muſt be cut off.

ſooner

ſooner gone than the wretched deſerters were cut in pieces.

The abſurdity of this abominable deed almoſt equals its barbarity, and this remark may be made with juſtice on many tranſactions in this country ſince the 10th of Auguſt. Common prudence might have prevented ſome of the moſt unjuſtifiable, without the ſuggeſtions of humanity, and humanity would have prevented them, even where prudence did not exiſt. This atrocious deed deſtroyed the hope of weakening the Pruſſian army by deſertion, which had been ſo great an object with the Convention, that a penſion of 100 livres had been decreed to every ſoldier who ſhould deſert from the Pruſſian army to the French; and while it put an end to every expectation of this kind, it alſo deſtroyed every hope of quarter, or mercy, when any of themſelves fell into the hands of the Pruſſians *.

To

* I have heard it aſſerted ſince my return to England,

To expiate this guilt, and vindicate the character of his army, Dumourier had given orders to General Bournonville to march a body of troops with ſome pieces of artillery againſt the two battalions, who were ordered to ground their arms, and ſubmit, on pain of being immediately put to death. They ſubmitted accordingly, their colours were ſent to their Sections, their arms and uniforms taken from them, and the men themſelves ordered in that diſgraceful ſtate to Paris, there to wait the pleaſure of the Convention.

It afterwards appeared that the unfortu-

land, that there was a conſiderable deſertion from the Pruſſians to the French at the Camp of St. Menehould, and that a fear of its increaſing was the chief reaſon of the Duke of Brunſwick's retreat; which reaſon he took great pains to conceal. But as the Duke's retreat is ſufficiently accounted for independent of that, I have allowed the account of it to remain as it was in my Journal, according to the intelligence I received at Paris.

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nate men who had been thus murdered, were not native Pruſſians, but Frenchmen, who had enliſted in the Pruſſian army before the Revolution, and had ſeized the firſt opportunity of returning to their countrymen.

Marat having heard of this circumſtance, publiſhed in his journal, and poſted on the walls, accuſations againſt the General, and vindications of the aſſaſſins. The former he deſcribes as a debauchee, as an old valet of the court, and, which includes every thing that is wicked, as an ariſtocrate. The latter he repreſents as worthy men, full of patriotiſm, which prompted them to anticipate by a few hours the blow of the executioner on the necks of four traitors. He aſſerts, that Dumourier, Chazot, and others, calumniate thoſe innocent battalions, on purpoſe to render the citizens of Paris, and particularly the General Council of the Commune, *to whom France owes the revolu-*

tion of the tenth of Auguſt, odious to the country; that the four deſerters were not Pruſſians, as had been perfidiouſly publiſhed by Dumourier, but French Emigrants, taken in arms, and therefore deſervedly put to death by the patriotic battalions.

He likewiſe accuſes Dumourier of having connived at the eſcape of the Pruſſians out of France, when he might have forced their camp, and obliged them to lay down their arms; and alſo for having quitted his own army at this critical time, on purpoſe to carouſe with drunkards and opera girls.

I never was more ſurpriſed in my life than when Marat, having aſcended the tribune at the Jacobins, began to repeat theſe aſſertions. The man's audacity is equal to any thing, but what I thought full as wonderful was the degree of patience, and even approbation, with which he was heard. The houſe was crowded, and it contains a very

numerous

numerous audience. When Marat is in the tribune, he holds his head as high as he can, and endeavours to aſſume an air of dignity—He can make nothing of that; but amidſt all the exclamations and ſigns of hatred and diſguſt which I have ſeen manifeſted againſt him, the look of ſelf approbation which he wears is wonderful—ſo far from ever having the appearance of fear, or of deference, he ſeems to me always to contemplate the Aſſembly from the tribune, either with the eyes of menace, or contempt.

He ſpeaks in a hollow croaking voice, with affected ſolemnity, which in ſuch a diminutive figure would often produce laughter, were it not ſuppreſſed by horror at the character and ſentiments of the man.

After having inſiſted for ſome time on the guilt of the murdered, the innocence of the murderers, and the cruelty of Dumourier, he informed the ſociety, that he had

thought it his duty to queſtion the General in perſon, that he might learn from himſelf what he had to ſay in defence of his conduct towards thoſe two meritorious battalions. Marat then gave a very circumſtantial account of his having called on Dumourier the night before he left Paris; that he had been accompanied by two members of the National Convention, one of them I think he called Bentable, the name of the other I do not recollect. At Dumourier's they were informed, that the General was at the Theatre des Variétés, and was not to ſup at home. "A number of carriages, and brilliant illuminations," continued Marat, "indicated to us where this ſon of Mars was ſupping with the ſons and daughters of Thalia; we found ſoldiers within and without: after traverſing ſome chambers filled with pikemen, muſketeers, dragoons, huſſars, the warlike ſuite of the General, we came to a ſpacious room full of company, at the door

of

of which was Santerre, commander of the Pariſian guards, performing the functions of a lackey, or an uſher. He announced me aloud, which I was ſorry for, becauſe it might have made thoſe perſons diſappear whom I ſhould have wiſhed to have ſeen; but I *did* ſee ſome, whom it is of uſe to mention for the better comprehending the operations of the ruling party in the Convention, and letting the public know who are the ſtate jugglers with whom the commander of our armies is moſt connected. To paſs over the officers of the national guards, the aid-de-camps, and others, who paid their court to the great Dumourier, continued he, I ſaw in this auguſt company the miniſters Roland and Le Brun, attended by Kerſaint and La Source. As my name had thrown the company into confuſion, I probably did not remark all who were preſent, I only remember theſe conſpirators whom I have named; but it was early, and

it is probable that Vergniaud, Buzot, Rabaud, Lacroix, Guadet, Genſonnet, and Barbaroux, were alſo at this entertainment; for they all belong to the ſame gang. At ſight of me, continued Marat, looking very fierce, Dumourier was appalled."

At this a number of the ſociety of Jacobins burſt into laughter; and one perſon near me ſaid, "That is what he was not at the ſight of the Pruſſian army."

When the laugh was over, Marat, with an unaltered countenance, reſumed, "At ſight of me Dumourier was appalled; which is not to be wondered at," continued he, erecting his head, ſtanding on his tiptoes, and looking very fierce, "ſince I am known to be the terror of all the enemies of my country." He proceeded to inform the ſociety, that he had deſired to ſpeak with Dumourier in another room; and being there, had aſked an account of all the particulars relative to the four deſerters: that the General

had

had told him he had already ſent thoſe particulars to the War Miniſter, and to the Convention, and had no other account to give." Marat concluded by ſaying, " that he had put other queſtions to the General, which diſconcerted him ſo much that, inſtead of attempting to anſwer them, he was forced to ſneak away abruptly with affected diſdain; and ſo, having made it clear that he could not juſtify his conduct, I left this aſſemblage of generals, and actors, and miniſters, and mountebanks, to paſs the night together.

Marat endeavoured to enliven this recital with a few jokes, which excited laughter in the Jacobin Society, but had not that effect on me.—Marat attempting pleaſantry, increaſes the horror which his appearance creates; it gives ſomething of the ſenſation which I imagine I ſhould have, if a murderer, after cutting a man's throat by a dexterous

dexterous ſtroke of a knife, ſhould ſmile in my face, and tip me the wink.

October 18.

When I went to the Convention this morning, the firſt thing that ſtruck me was the murky figure of Marat ſtanding on the ſteps which lead to the tribune, watching an opportunity of entering it: there was a great unwillingneſs to hear him, and he waited near two hours before he obtained the right to ſpeak, ſome other member being always pointed to by the Preſident.

Marat often exclaimed againſt this to no purpoſe, and ſeizing a moment when the tribune was empty, he began to addreſs the Aſſembly without the Preſident's permiſſion; but his voice was drowned in the outcry againſt him from all corners.—At length I heard De la Croix, the preſident, ſay to thoſe near him, " Je crois qu'il vaudroit mieux laiſſer parler ce gueux là;"

and

and raiſing his voice, he added, " Marat je vous donne la parole, mais je ne vous promets pas de vous la maintenir *.

Marat then entered the tribune, and began the ſame invective againſt Dumourier that I heard him pronounce laſt night at the Jacobins.—He was interrupted by cries of indignation from all ſides: one member addreſſed the Preſident to ſilence him, and not permit a man who was a diſgrace to the Aſſembly to calumniate citizens of the greateſt worth: another added, that his calumnies were praiſe; all ſeemed to hold him in execration.

During the uproar, Marat ſtood with an undiſturbed air, looking down on the Aſſembly. When the clamour abated ſo that his voice could be heard, he ſaid, with an air of irony, and in a tone of ſorrow,

* I believe we had beſt allow the fellow to ſpeak. Marat, I give you the right to ſpeak, but I cannot promiſe to maintain it with you long.

" I am

" I am really grieved to behold ſuch indecent behaviour in the Aſſembly—Is it not ſingular that the perſon whom you try to overwhelm with unjuſt clamours, ſhould be more concerned for your honour than you are yourſelves? Is it not extraordinary that you ſhould be ſo much prejudiced againſt a man animated with patriotiſm?"—Here there was an univerſal laugh; but when he attempted to reſume his invectives againſt Dumourier and Chazot, the clamour recommenced, and the Aſſembly ſhewed the utmoſt impatience.

Kerſaint then informed the Aſſembly that the ſoldiers of the battalion called Republicain, ſenſible of their error, had of themſelves delivered up the traitors who had excited them to mutiny and murder, and had promiſed to their general to efface the memory of their crime by their conduct againſt the enemy.

Marat, ſeeing that every body rejoiced

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in the puniſhment of the ringleaders, had the boldneſs to aſſert that he never had juſtified the conduct of the battalions. The cry in contradiction of this aſſertion was ſo univerſal that he could not proceed, and a member immediately exclaimed: "A man, whoſe name it is diſagreeable to pronounce, dares to aſſert, from that tribune, that he never juſtified the aſſaſſins of the unfortunate deſerters; in contradiction of which, I do now aſſert, that laſt night, at the Jacobins, he ſaid that they merited a civic crown.—Citizens, you may judge of the character of this man from what I have told you. Since he has been choſen as a deputy by the people, and ſince we are doomed ſometimes to hear him, I now move, that as often as he comes out of that tribune, it may be purified before another member enters it."

After this, the Aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day. Marat deſcended, and

ſtrutted

ſtrutted through the hall, affecting to deſpiſe the murmurs which aroſe againſt him.

It ſeems extraordinary that a man ſo odious, and whoſe acquaintance every body ſeems to ſhun, ſhould venture to attack, in ſuch an abuſive manner, a popular and ſucceſsful general. Yet the difference between the manner in which Marat was heard in the Jacobin Society, and in the Conventional Aſſembly, is remarkable; and I ſee people who are perſuaded that Marat is ſupported in ſecret by thoſe who in public diſavow any connection with him.—The ſame people have alſo obſerved, that the prevailing opinion in the Jacobin Club always becomes ſooner or later the prevailing opinion in the National Aſſembly, and that thoſe ſuſpicions which Marat endeavours to raiſe againſt Dumourier, are ſpread at the inſtigation of one who has very great influence in that ſociety. That per-

ſon, however, would do well to remember the words of Oroſmane in Zayre:

" Quiconque eſt ſoupçonneux invite à le trahir."

The preſidency of De la Croix ended this day; and Guadet, of the department of the Gironde, was elected by a great majority. Guadet ſeems to me one of the moſt acute men in the Convention; his ſpeeches are always perſpicuous and correct, and ſometimes finiſhed with an epigrammatic neatneſs.

October 19.

Two days ago a letter was read in the Convention from the commiſſioners to the army of the North, acquainting the Aſſembly, that a great number of volunteers had applied for liberty to retire at the end of the campaign.

Some members had repreſented the danger of permitting this in the preſent circumſtances, and propoſed a decree againſt it.

it. But this meaſure having been thought harſh to men who had, as volunteers, riſked their lives in defence of their country, in a time of great danger; inſtead of a decree, it was moved, that the Convention ſhould ſend an addreſs to all their armies, inviting the volunteers to prolong their ſervice until the country was declared to be out of danger.—A committee of four, namely, Condorcet, Danton, Hercault de Sechelles, and Vergniaud, had been accordingly appointed to draw up the addreſs; and I heard Danton read it to the Convention this morning. It was rather too long; and although applauded by a few, it was very evident that the generality of the Aſſembly did not much reliſh it.

A member then roſe, and, taking a paper from his pocket, ſaid, that he had compoſed an addreſs, which he begged leave to read.—This ſurpriſed me a good deal; but I did not obſerve that it produced the

ſame effect on any member of the Convention:—it ſeemed to me a ſtriking inſtance of that eaſe with which the natives of France do certain things which would mightily diſconcert ſome of their neighbours. I hardly think, that, in any public aſſembly in England, after a committee had been appointed to draw up an addreſs, any individual of the aſſembly would offer to read a compoſition of his own, as preferable to that of four of the moſt diſtinguiſhed members in it.—This gentleman, however, aſcended the tribune, and read his performance without embarraſſment. It had the fate of moſt productions which are read by their authors, whether in public or private aſſemblies; it gave far more ſatisfaction to the reader than to the audience; with this difference, that here the audience did not take the trouble of pretending to admire.

The air of indifference with which this was heard did not diſcourage another member from offering a third addreſs.—By the

ſtyle of this performance, and the ſolemn manner in which it was read, it was evident that the author wiſhed to be conſidered as a man of depth and learning: he pronounced ſome ſentences with a warmth, which he, no doubt, thought would prove victorious: the warmth with which they were delivered, however, was ſurpaſſed by the coldneſs of their reception.—Towards the concluſion, reſuming his addreſs to the volunteers, he ſaid, Enfin ſoldats *philoſophes*.

This unexpected epithet raiſed a laugh that overpowered a yawn which had been gaining very faſt on the audience for ſome conſiderable time.

I fully expected that ſo many unfortunate attempts would have prevented any new ſpecimens from being offered, and conſequently, that the addreſs of the committee would have been adopted. I was miſtaken in both conjectures, for the Aſſembly had no ſooner recovered their gravity, than

Faure, deputy from the department of Lower Seine, desired leave to read one of his composition. He is a man of about sixty years of age; very plain in his dress, and devoid of affectation in his manner.— His address was in the following words:

Citoyens Soldats;

La loi vous permet de vous retirer: le cri de la patrie vous le defend. Les Romains ont-ils abandonné leurs armes quand Porsenna étoit encore aux portes de Rome? L'ennemi a-t-il passé le Rhin? Longwi est-il repris? Le sang François, dont il a arrosé la terre de la liberté, est-il vengé? Ses ravages et sa barbarie sont-ils punis? A-t-il reconnu la majesté de la République et la souveraineté du Peuple? Soldats, voila le terme de vos travaux: c'est en dire assez aux braves defenseurs de la patrie. La Convention Nationale se borne à vous recommander l'honneur François, l'interêt

de la République, et les ſoins de votre propre gloire*.

The laconic energy of ſome expreſſions in this addreſs, pleaſed the Convention; it was adopted, ordered to be printed, and tranſmitted to the armies.

October 20.

This was a day of exultation in the Na-

* Citizen Soldiers,

The law allows you, but the voice of your country forbids you, to retire. Did the Romans quit their arms, when Porſenna was ſtill at the gates of Rome? Has the enemy yet repaſſed the Rhine? Is Longwy retaken? Has the blood of your countrymen, with which the enemy has bedewed this land of liberty, been avenged? Have his ravages and his barbarities been puniſhed? Has he acknowledged the Majeſty of the Republic, and the ſovereignty of the People?

Soldiers, theſe are the end of your labours: nothing more need be ſaid to the brave defenders of their country. The National Convention has only to recommend to your care, the honour of the French Nation, the intereſt of the Republic, and your own perſonal glory.

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tional Aſſembly.—Letters were read from their commiſſioners, giving an account of the retaking of the town of Longwy, and that the Germans were now entirely driven out of France. Flattering accounts alſo came from the army of Cuſtine, and that of the South: and a paper entitled, "Addreſſe de la Societé des Amis de la Liberté, et de l'Egalité ſéante à Chamberri," was read.—It begins with this expreſſion—"Legiſlateurs du Monde*:"—and, in the middle of the addreſs to the Aſſembly, the King of Sardinia is apoſtrophized in the following terms: "O Roi de Jéruſalem et de Chypre aſſez long-temps tes ſatellites ont appeſanti ſur nos têtes ton joug de fer!—il eſt tombé, nous l'avons foulé aux pieds, &c. &c†."

* Legiſlators of the World.

† O King of Jeruſalem and Cyprus, too long have thy ſatellites oppreſſed our necks with thy yoke of iron—it is fallen at laſt, and we have ſpurned it under our feet!

It is much in the ſame ſtrain throughout; and what will appear more extraordinary, this piece of bombaſt was ordered by the Aſſembly to be printed in French, Spaniſh, and German, and tranſmitted to the departments and to the armies.

But a ſcene took place in the Convention yeſterday, after I left it, which forebodes more miſery to the country than can be compenſated by the moſt brilliant ſucceſs. An addreſs was read by deputies from the 48 ſections of Paris, againſt the armed force which was ſome time ſince propoſed, and the modification of which is now under the deliberation of a committee. By this addreſs the Convention is told, "That it would be putting the members on a footing with tyrants, to ſurround them with guards —Pretorian guards.—That Paris made the Revolution of the tenth of Auguſt—and that Paris would maintain it." They alſo admoniſhed the Convention, that there are

thoſe

thoſe preſent who contemplate their conduct, and weigh their deciſions; and finally, that the ſections of Paris conſider the project of a guard to the Aſſembly as dangerous and odious.

The anſwer of Guadet, the Preſident, was ſenſible and ſpirited. He ſaid, that the exerciſe of the ſovereignty of the French people, and all the rights of the Republic, reſided in the Convention, which knew how to defend them, and which, though always willing to receive counſel from good citizens, would receive orders from the nation only.

But, in aſſerting that the Convention can defend the rights of the Republic, he aſſerts more than is true:—that an addreſs, in ſuch inſolent terms, ſhould be allowed to be read, is a proof not only that the Convention has *not* that power, but that the authors of the addreſs know this, and are determined to do all they can to prevent

its ever having it, and for that reaſon oppoſe the eſtabliſhment of the guard in queſtion. yet nothing can be more evident than that, until the Convention has the power of impoſing ſilence on the galleries, of protecting the perſons of the deputies, and of enforcing its decrees, there can be neither wiſdom nor ſtability in their government.—For, were we to ſuppoſe that a few members of the Convention, of diſtinguiſhed capacity, were ſupported by a majority in meaſures of wiſdom and moderation; yet if they are liable to be inſulted by a mob, thoſe deputies who ſupport them one day from conviction, will deſert them another through fear, and produce that confuſion, and thoſe contradictory meaſures which have of late occurred, and which, if not remedied, will end in complete anarchy and ruin.

A ſufficient body of guards, under the entire diſpoſal of the Convention, would prevent this.—But it appears by this addreſs

dreſs from all the ſections, that thoſe who oppoſe the eſtabliſhing any guard for the Convention, have not only the direction of the General Council of the Commune, but alſo of all the ſections of Paris. It is true that the majority of the other departments of France, and of courſe the majority of the deputies, are for this guard; but I ſometimes converſe with thoſe who are able to form a much juſter notion of what is likely to be the conſequence than I can—who are of opinion, that Paris will carry the point againſt all the other departments; and that whatever the *opinion* of the deputies may continue to be, the majority of their *votes* will, in a ſhort time, be againſt the armed force.

Indeed it is evident, that, although all the departments of France are, in theory, allowed to have an equal ſhare in the government, yet, in fact, the ſingle department of Paris has the whole power of the

government; the other departments govern by repreſentation—Paris rules in perſon. The Majeſty of Le Peuple Souverain reſides in the capital, and by dint of inſurrection, which is always in the power of certain leading perſons here, Paris gives the law to the Convention and to all France, and will continue to do ſo till an armed force is eſtabliſhed, and placed entirely under the command of the National Convention.

October 21,

The city of Marſeilles, on hearing of the danger to which the Convention is expoſed from the mob, and the people in the galleries, raiſed a battalion, which was ordered to march to Paris for its protection. The intrepid and deciſive behaviour of the Fédérés from that city, on the tenth of Auguſt, have made a ſtrong impreſſion on the minds of the Pariſians; and a body of ſeven or eight hundred men from Mar-

ſeilles

ſeilles are conſidered as equivalent to a much greater number raiſed elſewhere. As this battalion comes for the expreſs purpoſe of protecting the Convention, its approach has given diſquietude to that party who wiſh the Aſſembly to be overawed by the people in the galleries: endeavours have been uſed, therefore, to create a prejudice againſt the Marſeillois in the minds of the populace of Paris—and particularly in the patriotic Sans Culottes of St. Antoine and St. Marcelle.—It is circulated that they are brought to the capital for ſome purpoſe of ariſtocracy. The name of Marſeillois is in ſuch high eſtimation, that this inſinuation has hitherto had little effect.

The battalion is arrived, and this day ſent a deputation to the Convention. A member of the deputation pronounced a ſpeech full of energy at the bar.—"We ſet out," ſaid he, "from the ſhore of the Mediterranean, to offer our lives in defence of

of our brethren of Paris, then threatened by the ſoldiers of deſpotiſm, but that danger is over, and the only enemies which remain for us to fight, are thoſe who deſire to erect a *tribunitial* or *dictatorial* power in France.—Legiſlators, you are delegated by the eighty-three departments, we have as great an intereſt in you, therefore, as the citizens of Paris—We know that certain men tell the Pariſians that the Convention has a deſign of eſtabliſhing pretorian guards around them for the purpoſes of tyranny—one word is a ſufficient refutation of that calumny.—*We* ſhall belong to thoſe guards.

Repreſentatives, the children of Marſeilles know to obey, as they know how to fight, they hate *dictators* as they hate kings, and you may count upon them for the maintenance of your laws, and of your authority."

Another perſon came afterwards to the bar of the Aſſembly and accuſed Marat in the

the ſevereſt terms.—" That blood-thirſty man," ſaid he, " after having preached murder and carnage within the city of Paris, now diſperſes his journals among the armies, to excite the ſoldiers to mutiny. The electors of Paris have diſhonoured themſelves in chooſing ſuch a perſon, and you will partake of that diſhonour; you will cover yourſelves with the blood which Marat has cauſed to be ſhed, if you do not expel him from among you, and puniſh him for his crimes."

Some members endeavoured to interrupt the ſpeaker, and the Preſident reminded him that he ought to ſpeak with reſpect of a repreſentative of the people.

" It is not Marat, the repreſentative of the people, I attack," reſumed the ſpeaker; " it is Marat the journaliſt, the incendiary, againſt whom the French Republic, and human nature, calls for vengeance."

A member ſaid, that this petition againſt

Marat

Marat was not in due form; that before the accuſation could be ſent to the Committee of General Safety, they ought to collect all the proofs that were againſt him.—"If you inſiſt upon *all*, they muſt be brought in a waggon," ſaid another.

The protectors of Marat, for it is evident that this man has protectors in the Convention, ſaid every thing they could to perſuade the Aſſembly to paſs to the order of the day, without further notice of this petition, or accuſation; but in ſpite of all their efforts it was ordered to be tranſmitted to the Committee of General Safety.

The addreſs from the Sections of Paris againſt the armed force, is a manœuvre of Danton and his friends, and their having the influence to obtain it, gives a higher idea of their ſtrength than has been hitherto entertained.

The deputation of the Marſeillois is conſidered as a meaſure of Roland and the Girondiſts,

Girondiſts, to give the Convention an idea of the protection it has to expect, till ſuch time as a more regular armed force ſhall be decreed.

October 22.

A very ſhort time after the 10th of Auguſt, thoſe who had been united againſt the court divided, and became hoſtile to each other. Roland had been choſen miniſter for the home department. He has the appearance of a man of ſincerity, and, whether he deſerves it or not, he has the reputation of a man of probity, is ſupported by a great number, who are conſidered as the beſt intentioned in the Aſſembly, and alſo by ſome who are diſtinguiſhed for their talents; among the latter are, Vergniaud, Guadet, Buzot, Briſſot, Rabaut de St. Etienne, Jean Baptiſte Louvet, La Source, Kerſaint, Petion, Lanjuinais, and Barbaroux.

Roland was likewiſe intimately connected with Claviere, Servan, and Le Brun; the two firſt had formerly been in the adminiſtration

ſtration with him, and Le Brun was placed as Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, after the 10th of Auguſt.

The confidence which the people, and the majority of the Aſſembly put in the integrity of Roland, and the ſupport he had from ſo many men of the beſt abilities in the Aſſembly, excited the jealouſy of certain members, particularly of Danton, who could not bear to ſee a man, whom he conſidered as far inferior in underſtanding to himſelf, in poſſeſſion of ſo much credit.

It is imagined that Danton had formed a plan for preventing Roland from continuing in adminiſtration, and which, if it had fully ſucceeded, would alſo have excluded him from being of the Convention.

It is even believed by ſome that he was elected a deputy to the Convention without his own application or knowledge; according to the Conſtitution, no member of the National Aſſembly can hold the office of miniſter,

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it was imagined that Roland would reſign the ſituation of miniſter, that he might be of the Convention; and it has ſince appeared, that there were certain flaws in his election as a deputy, which, as is ſuppoſed, were known to thoſe who had brought it about, and which would have rendered it void: and thus, had he reſigned his office of miniſter, as Danton did, he might afterwards have found himſelf precluded from the Conventional Aſſembly. But before this could be brought to trial, it was propoſed in the Convention that Roland ſhould be *invited* by the Aſſembly to remain in adminiſtration. This propoſal had not been foreſeen by Danton; he oppoſed it with all his might, and in this he was joined by all his friends. The good qualities of Roland having been enumerated by thoſe who were for the invitation, that very circumſtance, with the popularity of the man, were laid hold of, as grounds of jealouſy, and reaſons againſt his being in-

vited. One deputy put them in mind, that a Greek, in the ſenate of Athens, had declared that he would not give his vote for Ariſtides, becauſe he was tired of hearing him called *the juſt*: another deputy ſaid, that as often as he heard any member of the Aſſembly greatly applauded, he trembled for his liberty.

If theſe reaſons were uſed as pretexts, and in the expectation that they would have the effect to prejudice the Aſſembly againſt Roland, thoſe who urged them muſt have a poor opinion of the underſtanding of their audience.—If, on the contrary, they really thought that a man's being conſidered as a juſt man, rendered him dangerous as a miniſter, their audience had a right to think meanly of theirs.—I perceive an affectation in the Convention to adopt maxims and uſages from antiquity, which, however juſt and applicable they might be at a former age, and in a different country, are by no

means ſuitable to France in the preſent circumſtances. This diſpoſition of miſapplying general maxims, very often renders the weak the dupes of the worthleſs.

Notwithſtanding the oppoſition, however, the Convention was on the point of decreeing, that Roland ſhould be invited to remain in adminiſtration; which Danton perceiving, he could no longer reſtrain his ill humour, but peeviſhly ſaid, "If you are determined on this meaſure, I move that the invitation be extended to Madame Roland, who is known to aſſiſt her huſband with her counſel *."

This illiberal ſally was heard with diſapprobation by the Aſſembly, and would have had no effect in preventing the invitation which had been propoſed, had not Cambon ſpoken againſt it: he obſerved, that to *invite* a miniſter to continue in office, was in ſome

* Madame Roland has the reputation of being a moſt accompliſhed and amiable woman.

degree to weaken his reſponſibility; and Buzot declaring that this obſervation had ſo much weight with him as to make him alter his opinion, the invitation was no more inſiſted on.

The day following, Roland, in a letter to the Convention, expreſſed his concurrence in ſentiment with thoſe who thought that to invite a miniſter to continue, would be derogatory of the rigorous principles of republicaniſm, and tended beſides to render him leſs reſponſible than he ought to be: that, however, the Convention having even deliberated on ſuch a meaſure, he conſidered as highly honourable to him, and a motive to engage him to retain his office of miniſter, and to wave that of deputy: that the danger which he plainly perceived would attend him in the firſt ſituation, was another inducement for his retaining it; but that his chief motive, however ſuch a declaration might be conſtrued by his enemies,

was, that he thought his continuing miniſter would, in the preſent circumſtances, be advantageous for his country.

Perhaps nothing but conſcious integrity could induce a man of ſenſe to hold ſuch language: but certainly nothing but a ſtrong conviction of its truth on the mind of the Convention, and a ſentiment of high eſteem for the perſon who uſed it, could prevent it from being thought preſumptuous. Roland's letter excited no ſuch ſenſation.—The inſtant it was perceived that he had reſolved to continue in office, the greateſt joy appeared in the Aſſembly, and his letter was ordered to be printed, and ſent to all the departments.

Roland has continued miniſter for the home department ever ſince. I have ſeen him frequently in the place appointed for the miniſters, which is immediately within the bar, and oppoſite to the Preſident. None of them ever come to the Aſſembly

unleſs they have been ſent for, or when they have ſomething to ſtate, on which they wiſh to have the inſtructions of the Convention—and they withdraw as ſoon as they have made their report, without taking any part in the debate.

On ſuch occaſions I have ſeen ſome of them obliged to remain ſeveral hours before they were heard. For, if a debate is already begun when a miniſter enters, he is generally allowed to ſit unnoticed in his place till it be finiſhed. Some of Roland's addreſſes to the Convention are diſtinguiſhed for correctneſs and elegance. It is ſaid, that they owe the latter to his wife: this report is founded entirely on preſumption, Mrs. Roland being a woman of taſte and literature; and it is circulated not ſo much with a view to add to her reputation, as to detract from that of her huſband.

When he enters, there is generally a whiſper

whiſper of approbation in the Aſſembly, and, while he is ſpeaking, I have often heard the deputies near me ſay, with fervour—*Ah le digne homme! le brave miniſtre!* What proves that he and thoſe connected with him enjoy the confidence of the majority of the Convention, is, that the Preſident and the ſecretaries have hitherto been choſen from among his friends.

Roland was the popular miniſter, whoſe diſmiſſion raiſed ſo great a clamour againſt the Court. One of the pretexts for the ſhameful irruption of the populace into the King's palace, on the 20th of June, was to preſent a petition for his recall: if Roland himſelf had any hand in promoting that inſurrection, he has little claim to the epithet which was applied to Ariſtides. Thoſe who wiſh to ſucceed him and his friends in their offices, repreſent them to the people as in all points as dangerous to liberty as ever the Court was: ſo that it

is not improbable but that Roland and his friends may fall the victims of the example given on the 20th of June, of overawing the legiſlative power, and attacking the executive, by a mob.

The duke of Rochefoucauld was at that time Preſident of the Department of Paris, and was zealous to bring the authors of that inſurrection to puniſhment—the zeal he ſhewed upon that occaſion was thought to be the remote cauſe of his murder.

The aſſaſſinations formerly mentioned, that were committed at Clermont, at Cambray, at Charleville, by the volunteers as they paſſed through theſe places, ſeem to have proceeded from want of diſcipline and from the caprice, prejudice, and cruelty, which are ſo apt to gain upon vulgar and uninſtructed men, aſſembled in great numbers, and under no controul. Great pains have been taken to ſpread the opinion, that ſome other murders which have been committed

committed in the provinces, were entirely owing to a ſudden, unpremeditated commotion of the people — particularly the horrid aſſaſſination of the Duke of Rochefoucauld. It is generally believed, however, that the murder of this nobleman originated in more diſtant cauſes, and more concealed promoters.

M. de la Rochefoucauld was a man of humanity and candour. Unſeduced by the advantages enjoyed by thoſe of his own rank, he felt with generous ſympathy for the diſtreſſed ſituation of others: he beheld with ſatisfaction the overthrow of the old arbitrary ſyſtem of government, in the hopes of ſeeing one more agreeable to juſtice erected in its ſtead—A friend to monarchy as well as freedom, M. de la Rochefoucauld had in his contemplation a monarchy of milder aſpect than his country had ever enjoyed—more limited in its nature, but with ſufficient power in the

Prince

Prince to defend his prerogatives, and ſufficient means in the people to reſiſt tyranny; more agreeable to humanity, more conducive to the general happineſs, not only of the people, which is infinitely the moſt important object, but alſo of the Monarch himſelf, if he happens to be a man of ſenſe.

The Duke of Rochefoucauld was Preſident of the Department of Paris on the 20th of June 1792, and did all in his power in the firſt place to prevent, and afterwards to diſcover and bring to puniſhment, the inſtigators of the ſcandalous irruption of an armed multitude into the King's palace.

Having made frequent alluſions to the tranſactions of that day, I ſhall here give a ſhort account of them.

For ſeveral days before the 20th of June it was known all over Paris, that the inhabitants of the Fauxbourgs of St. Antoine and St. Marcelle

St. Marcelle intended to march in arms to the Tuileries, on pretence of preſenting a petition to the King—but in reality with the deſign of intimidating and forcing him to ſanction two decrees of the National Aſſembly, which he had hitherto refuſed.

The council of the department of Paris, of which M. de Rochefoucald was Preſident, did every thing in their power to prevent an attempt of a nature ſo unjuſtifiable, ſo contrary to the principles of the conſtitution, and which might be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences.

This council made repreſentations to the Mayor of Paris, to the Procureur of the Commune, and to Santerre, who at that time was commander of the battalion of Les Enfans-trouvés.

But unfortunately thoſe to whom the council of the department made theſe repreſentations, and whoſe peculiar duty it was to prevent the intended proceſſion,

were

were the very people who had planned it, and were ſecretly promoting it with all their influence.

The inhabitants of the two ſuburbs began to aſſemble in arms, on the morning of the 20th of June, at the place where the Baſtile formerly ſtood. As accounts of this came from all quarters, to theſe ſecret inſtigators, ſome of whom were magiſtrates, they could not decently avoid making a ſhew of oppoſing it. When the multitude were at the height of enthuſiaſm, and ready to march, thoſe magiſtrates appeared in their municipal ſcarfs, and gravely *admoniſhed* the people to depart peaceably home, lay up their arms, and go to bed. "You have acted *your* part," ſaid one of the rabble; "move out of the way, and let us act ours." The proceſſion began at nine in the morning; the battalion of St. Antoine marched firſt: between it and that of St. Marcelle banners were carried, ſufficiently expreſſive of the deſign of this ceremony,

mony, if it had been at all doubtful. On one was inſcribed theſe words,

Tyrans, tremblez, ou ſoyez juſtes,
Et reſpectez la liberté du peuple *.

On another,

Louis, le peuple eſt las de ſouffrir †.

On a third,

Tremblez tyran, ta derniere heure eſt venue ‡.

On a fourth,

Le rappel des miniſtres, la ſanction ou la mort §.

Other banners were carried, ornamented with vile allegorical figures, and ſuitable inſcriptions.

They marched to the hall of the National Aſſembly, and required permiſſion to walk through it in proceſſion. A member

* Tyrants, tremble, or be juſt,
And reſpect the liberty of the people.

† Lewis, the people are weary of ſuffering.

‡ Tremble, tyrant, thy laſt hour is come.

§ The recall of the miniſters, the ſanction, or death.

made

made a ſpeech againſt the granting of this requeſt, giving for his reaſon, that the petitioners were armed, and in great numbers; but, as this orator's eloquence, while it oppoſed the mob's being let in, proved that they could not be kept out, the Aſſembly graciouſly granted the prayer of the petitioners, and, in conſequence, was amuſed for three hours with a proceſſion of armed men, accompanied by women and children, marching through the hall. Among other ingenious emblems, a pair of old black breeches were carried on a pole, with this comfortable inſcription, Libres—et ſans-culottes *.

From the National Aſſembly the armed multitude went to the palace, where there was a conſiderable number of troops on duty; but no orders having been given to reſiſt, and many portions of the multitude who formed the proceſſion being conducted

* Free—and without breeches.

by

by men dreſſed in municipal ſcarfs, the gardens and courts of the Tuileries were crowded in an inſtant. One body marched with more regularity than the reſt, dragging ſome pieces of cannon with them, and conducted by Santerre, and Legendre the butcher.—The multitude ſoon after ruſhed into every apartment, calling aloud, that they muſt ſee the King; they had a petition to preſent. M. Acloque, commandant of the ſecond legion of national guards, having placed ſome grenadiers at the door of the apartments neareſt to the King's, told two municipal officers that if they would prevent the mob from proceeding, he would inform the King of their requeſt, and that he was perſuaded his Majeſty would receive twenty of their number, according to the law—He then went to the door of the King's apartment, which he found ſhut—he knocked, and begged that he might be inſtantly admitted, ſaying, that he came to ſave the King's life—The door of the chamber

ber was opened; he found the King, with the Queen, the Prince, the Princeſs Royal, Madam Elizabeth the King's ſiſter, and the following gentlemen: the Mareſchal de Mouchy, Beaulieu, Miniſter of the Finances, Lajard, Miniſter of War, Terrier de Monciel, Miniſter of the Home Department, the Count d'Hervilly, Marechal de Camp and Commander of the Horſe Guards.

M. Acloque, perceiving that they had their ſwords drawn, and ſeemed determined to ſacrifice their lives in defence of the royal family, entreated them to ſheath their ſwords, otherwiſe they would increaſe the danger in which the King was—In a ſhort time a great noiſe was heard at the door, the rabble were breaking it open, with pikes, axes, and the butt end of muſquets. The King himſelf ordered the doors to be thrown open:—before this was done, the ends of ſome of the muſquets and pikes had been driven through the door—twenty or thirty of the mob burſt into the room.

M. Acloque

M. Acloque accoſted them with a firm voice: "Citizens, reſpect your King—the law commands it; and we will all periſh rather than ſuffer his being inſulted."—One of the company at the ſame inſtant calling out, Vive la nation! Vive le Roi! the intruders ſtopped ſhort.

It was then propoſed to the King, that he ſhould ſtand on a ſeat in the room commonly called L'Œil de Beuf, to prevent his being preſſed upon, and that he might be ſeen by the people, who were entering in great numbers; to which he conſented.—The Queen, at the King's deſire, with the royal children, went into the adjacent room; but Madame Elizabeth kept conſtantly by his ſide, rejecting every entreaty that was made by the King himſelf and others to quit him for an inſtant.

On the ſixth of October 1789, when the mob marched from Paris to Verſailles and broke into the palace, the Princeſs Eli-

zabeth attached herſelf to the perſon of the Queen, whoſe life ſhe knew was at that time more threatened by thoſe ruffians than that of her brother; and on the preſent occaſion, as he was in greater danger, ſhe adhered to him.

Four grenadiers of the national guards appearing at the door, the Princeſs, who had betrayed no ſymptom of fear on her own account, burſt into tears at ſight of them, and ſaid, "*Ah! Meſſieurs, defendez le Roi.*"

Thoſe four grenadiers, an officer of chaſſeurs, a cannonier, with the gentlemen above mentioned, placed themſelves around the King and the Princeſs Elizabeth, and with admirable conſtancy kept off the preſſure of the crowd, and protected the perſon of the King for above three hours; the Marechal de Mouchy, in ſpite of his great age, remaining the whole time. All the adjacent rooms, mean-while, ſwarmed with

with a mixed rabble of men and women, armed with pikes, ſabres, ſticks with knives fixed at their ends, fuſils and piſtols; many of them calling, "En bas le veto, au diable le veto!" and ſome of them ſhewing ſo much fury, that thoſe around the King's perſon had difficulty in keeping them off.

One fellow, mounted on a chair, ſpoke to the King in the moſt audacious manner, requiring the recal of the patriot miniſters, meaning Roland, Claviere, and Servan, whom the King had a little before diſmiſſed; he alſo required that the two decrees ſhould obtain his approbation.—To which his Majeſty anſwered with firmneſs, "Je ferai ce que je croirai devoir faire; mais ce n'eſt pas ni le lieu, ni le moment, de me faire une pareille demande *."

A red cap was reached to the King at

* I will do what I ought; but this is neither the place nor the time to make a requeſt of that nature.

the end of a pike, by a man who cried, Vive la nation!—The King ſaid, "La nation n'a de meillieur ami que moi *." On which the other inſolently added, "Eh bien, donnez nous en la preuve en mettant le bonnet rouge, et en criant "Vive la nation!†"

On attempting to put on the red cap, it was found too ſmall for the King's head; but a grenadier having ſtretched it upon his knee, the King put it on, and wore it as long as the mob remained.

At one time, when the noiſe and confuſion was greater than uſual, a grenadier, addreſſing the King, ſaid, "Sire, n'ayez pas peur." On which he anſwered, "I am not in the leaſt afraid, friend." So ſaying, he preſſed the ſoldier's hand to his breaſt, that he might feel that his heart beat calmly.

* The nation has no better friend than I am.

† Prove it then, by putting on the red cap, and by crying "Vive la nation!"

Among thoſe armed with various weapons, one ruffian brandiſhed a pike with the heart of a calf ſtuck on the point, from which hung a label, with this inſcription, "Cœur des ariſtocrates *."

To the noiſy requiſitions that were made from all corners of "Otez le veto! rappellez le miniſtres!" the King anſwered, that he would do what was juſt.—Legendre the butcher, thinking this expreſſion rather equivocal, took this opportunity of giving the monarch a ſpecimen of his eloquence.—"*Monſieur*," ſaid Legendre—the King ſeeming a little ſurpriſed at this new ſtyle and manner, for this man's manner is as extraordinary as his ſtyle—"*Monſieur*," repeated Legendre, "ecoutez nous; oui *Monſieur*, vous êtes fait pour nous ecouter, vous etes un perfide, vous nous avez toujours trompés, vous nous trompez encore; mais prenez

* The heart of ariſtocrates.

garde à vous Monſieur, la meſure eſt a ſon comble, et le peuple eſt las de ſe voir votre jouet *."

In a company lately, where the converſation turned on the conduct of Legendre, every body preſent blamed it, except one young Frenchman, who, although of high birth, diſtinguiſhes himſelf by violent democratic principles: he urged, by way of defending Legendre, that he did not ſpeak in his own name, but in that of the nation; that he repreſented *the majeſty of the peuple ſouverain.* The company ſmiled; ſome of them were deputies, who, however expedient it might be to uſe this language in the tribune, did not expect to hear it in private ſociety.—I ventured to repeat a

* Sir, liſten to us—yes, Sir, it is your duty to attend to us; you have always deceived us, you deceive us ſtill; but take care what you are about, Sir, the meaſure of our patience is full, and the people are tired of being your dupes.

ſtory

ſtory I had heard, of an Engliſh gentleman celebrated for wit, that, walking in the ſtreets of London with a democratic acquaintance of his, who frequently uſed the expreſſion *the majeſty of the people*, they met a couple of chimney-ſweeps; the gentleman took off his hat, and made them a very formal and low bow as they paſſed. His acquaintance aſked what he meant—I was only ſhewing the reſpect, replied the other, which is due from every loyal ſubject to two princes of the blood.

This gentleman, it is probable, judged of their affinity merely from their external reſemblance to the Sovereign; but Legendre could boaſt of an affinity in more eſſential points, an unyielding firmneſs of heart, a deciſive promptitude of execution, a diſpoſition which, ſo far from being depreſſed, finds matter of mirth and pleaſantry in ſcenes of horror, when they are thought

neceſſary to promote the great cauſe: theſe are features of energy which have diſtinguiſhed the Peuple Souverain ſince the beginning of the Revolution, and in which Legendre bears a ſtriking likeneſs to the monarch he was ſaid to repreſent.

A deputation conſiſting of twelve members of the National Aſſembly, among whom were Iſnard and Vergniaud, at length arrived—Iſnard addreſſing himſelf to the people who filled the room, endeavoured to prevail on them to withdraw, repeating frequently, that he would be anſwerable on his life that they ſhould be ſatisfied.—This had little effect, the noiſe and exclamations of "Rappellez les miniſtres! ôtez le veto!" * recommenced.

Vergniaud alſo ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe, and with as little ſucceſs.

* Recal the miniſters, remove the veto.

The

The noiſe and confuſion continued till paſt five in the evening, when Petion arrived, accompanied by Sergent, a municipal officer. Petion approaching the King, ſaid, " Sire, I was only this moment informed of the ſituation in which you are."

That is extraordinary, replied the King, for I have been in this ſituation above three hours.

Petion then ſtanding on a chair adviſed the people to retire, ending his harangue with the following very curious expreſſions, which one who was preſent wrote a little after and allowed me to copy: " Citoyens, vous venez de faire entendre vos vœux au repreſentant héréditaire, avec l'énergie et la dignité d'un peuple libre qui connoit ſes droits. Le Roi ſait maintenant les intentions du *Souverain*, et ſans doute il y aura égard. Il convient que vous vous retirez

avec

avec calme et décence, afin qu'on ne puiſſe pas calomnier vos intentions*."

After this, the people at the Mayor's repeated requeſt began to withdraw :—when a ſecond deputation from the National Aſſembly arrived, one of the members of which addreſſed the King in a reſpectful manner, aſſuring him that each member was ready to preſent his body as a ſhield to cover his Majeſty's.

It could not eſcape the King, however, that he might have been cut in pieces three hours before the ſhields arrived.

While theſe things were paſſing in the

* Citizens, you have now made your deſires known to the hereditary repreſentative, with that energy and dignity which becomes a free people who underſtand their rights. The King at preſent knows the intentions of the *ſovereign*, and undoubtedly will pay a proper regard to them. You ought now to withdraw with calmneſs and decency, that your intentions may not be calumniated.

Œil de Beuf, the Queen entered the council-chamber, attended by the Prince and Princeſs Royal, by Madame de Lamballe, Mme. Tourzelle, Mme. de Mau, Mme. de Soucy. Her Majeſty ſhewed much uneaſineſs on account of the ſituation in which ſhe had left the King, till the Adjutant General of the firſt legion of Pariſian guards, with ſome ſoldiers, came and aſſured her that the King was in ſafety, and ſurrounded by faithful ſervants.

M. de Wittengoff, a general officer, entered the room followed by a number of people of both ſexes, among whom was a woman with a red cap in her hand. She preſented the cap to Wittengoff, deſiring him to give it to the Queen to wear, adding, that ſhe had juſt left the King, who at that moment had the cap of Liberty on his head.

It would appear that the General did not think it expedient to reject the woman's propoſal; which the Queen perceiving, and

being ſhocked at the idea of wearing the cap, ſaid to Wittengoff, " Vous voyez Monſieur, que ce bonnet ne peut aller ſur ma tête :" ſhe then put it on the head of the Prince. This ſatisfied the woman and her followers.

Santerre entered the council-chamber ſoon after, followed by a new crowd, who having already ſeen the King, now demanded a ſight of the Queen, which Santerre had undertaken to procure them.—He immediately required that thoſe who ſtood immediately before her Majeſty ſhould open to the right and left, that the people who followed him might have a full view of her and the reſt of the royal family; which was done, Santerre *graciouſly* aſſuring the Queen that ſhe had nothing to apprehend from the people, who were *wonderfully good*, and only wiſhed to be gratified with a ſight of her as they walked out; and perceiving that

that the Prince was heated with the cap, he added, " Otez le bonnet à cet enfant *."

Santerre's aſſurances, however, did not prevent ſome of the people, who were not quite ſo good as the reſt, from inſulting the Queen, as they paſſed, with very abominable language.

The crowd having moſtly retired, and the King having left the Œil de Beuf to go to what are called the petits apartemens, the Princeſs Elizabeth was going to wait on the Queen in the council-chamber, when a group of the mob which ſtill lingered in the palace, miſtaking her for the Queen, began to inſult her; on which one of the Princeſs's attendants was going to undeceive them, but ſhe with nobleneſs of mind prevented this, leſt the people who were inſulting her, being informed of their miſtake, ſhould have tranſferred their abuſe to the unhappy Queen.

* Take the cap from that child's head.

It appeared from the witneſſes examined on this buſineſs, that great pains had been taken with the inhabitants of St. Antoine, for a conſiderable time previous to the 20th of June, to work them up to this criminal meaſure: for it merits that epithet in a high degree, even although what is by no means clear were entirely admitted, namely that no more was intended than to prevail on the King to recall the former miniſters, and to remove the negative he had given to the two decrees; becauſe, to prevail on the King by ſuch means was open rebellion againſt the government, and ruinous to the Conſtitution, and might have been attended with the immediate maſſacre of the royal family, and other dreadful conſequences, all of which the promoters of this proceſſion were anſwerable for.

The active and apparent promoters of it (for others are ſtrongly ſuſpected who were not ſworn againſt by the witneſſes) were,

Santerre,

Santerre, at that time commander of the battalion of Enfans trouvés, Legendre, Fournier an American, Rotondo an Italian, Buirette a glaſs-maker, Roſignol a goldſmith, Gonor who was called the conqueror of the Baſtille, Brierre a wine-merchant, and St. Huruge, who rendered himſelf more notorious afterwards in the month of September, and Nicolas, ſapeur or miner to the battalion which Santerre commanded. Theſe men had frequent nightly meetings at the houſe of Santerre, where they drew up the motions that were to be made in the groups at the Tuileries, the Palais-royal, the Place de Gréve, and to the multitude which aſſembled in the Place de la Baſtille. They ſometimes met alſo in the chamber of the committee of the ſection of Enfans trouvés, to compoſe placarts to be poſted on the walls; and at thoſe meetings Chabot had frequently made harangues, the tendency of which was to encourage the audience to

promote

promote the intended proceſſion, which he aſſured them the National Aſſembly expected, and would receive with ſatisfaction.

From the evidence it alſo appeared, "that after coming from the National Aſſembly, the people ſhewed no diſpoſition to force their way into the palace, till Santerre, accompanied by Saint Hurugè, came among them, and aſked why they did not enter the palace, as it was for that purpoſe alone that they had aſſembled; and that it was in conſequence of directions from Panis, and another municipal officer, that the gates of the Tuileries had been broken open."

In conſequence of the proof of theſe facts, the Council of the department of Paris decreed, that the Mayor of Paris, and the Procureur of the Commune, who had been frequently advertiſed by the Council of the intended proceſſion, had not done what their duty required to prevent, but had rather countenanced it, and therefore ſhould be ſuſ-

pended

pended from the exercise of their offices; but this decree requiring the sanction of the King, his Majesty wished to give no opinion nor decision on the subject, as he was personally concerned in it. He therefore referred the whole matter to the National Assembly; but his enemies there being resolved to drive him to the disagreeable alternative of either disapproving of the decree of the Council, or incurring the odium of being the immediate cause of suspending the popular Mayor, had sufficient influence to get the Assembly to refuse giving any opinion on the subject, until the King should confirm or annul the sentence of the Council. His Majesty therefore confirmed the decree; which he had no sooner done, than the National Assembly took the whole matter into their consideration, and reinstated the Mayor and Procureur in their offices.

From this time it was clear that the con-

ſtitution was at an end, that a plan was formed for the deſtruction of royalty, and that the beſt meaſure the King could adopt was to attempt at any riſk to remove himſelf and his family out of the reach of the mob of Paris. To this he was often preſſed by his friends, who thought, that if he were even removed as far as Fontainebleau, there was ſuch indignation in the minds of the moſt reſpectable citizens all over France at the ſcandalous tranſactions on the 20th of June, that they would have united againſt the anarchiſts of Paris, and given ſuch force to the executive power, as, without injuring freedom, would have ſuppreſſed them, and prevented the dreadful diſorders which have ſince taken place. But his Majeſty, probably deterred by the ill ſucceſs of his flight to Varennes, could not be prevailed on to make a ſecond attempt of the ſame nature.

Diſguſted with a ſeries of crimes which he could neither prevent nor puniſh, and finding

finding that his preſence in Paris was neither of uſe to his country nor to the King, the Duke of Rochefoucauld withdrew from the capital to his villa in Normandy, from whence, on account of his health, he ſoon after went to the medicinal waters of Forges, where he was during the dreadful period of the maſſacres in September, and where a commiſſioner from the general council of the Commune of Paris arrived with an order to arreſt and conduct him to the capital. This commiſſioner was a man of more humanity than thoſe uſually employed by the council on ſimilar occaſions; he readily agreed to the propoſal of accompanying the Duke in the firſt place to his own houſe at Roche-Guyon, with a view that the agitation which exiſted at Paris might have time to ſubſide before he ſhould arrive, and in the hopes that the Duke's friends might be able to have the order recalled.—In company with Mr. de la Roche-

foucauld was the Ducheſſe D'Anville, his mother, and the Ducheſs his wife. On the road between Forges and Roche-Guyon, they ſtopped at Giſors: during this period, moſt unfortunately a battalion of National Guards arrived, among whom ſome of the Paris aſſaſſins, as is ſuſpected, were mixed.

Theſe villains immediately ſhewed a diſpoſition to murder the Duke, who, being more ſolicitous for the ſafety of his mother and his wife than for his own, and fearing that they might be injured or inſulted if he remained with them, he perſuaded them to go on. The Duke himſelf afterwards walked to his carriage under the protection of the Mayor of Giſors, the Commiſſioner, and ſome of the national guards; but he was, notwithſtanding, followed by the aſſaſſins loading him all the way with abuſive language, till one of them having found means of coming very near the Duke, threw a ſtone with ſuch force that, ſtriking him on

the

the temple, it killed him on the ſpot, and ſome of the wretches immediately, on ſeeing him fall, cried, " Vive la Nation!"

The French nation is diſgraced by ſuch an exclamation on ſuch an occaſion; and, were I not convinced that the majority deteſt the actions and ſicken at the exclamations of ſuch wretches, I ſhould join in ſentiment with thoſe who wiſh it waſhed from the ſurface of the globe.

October 24.

In a converſation which I had this day with a member of the Convention, I delivered my ſentiments pretty freely upon the ſubject of the murder of Mr. de la Rochefoucauld, and ſome ſimilar events which have taken place of late in France: he expreſſed the utmoſt horror at them, but added that ſcenes of the ſame kind had been acted in every country of Europe in times of revolution and diſſention, when great intereſts

were at ſtake, and when the human paſſions were inflamed and agitated in the higheſt degree. He mentioned certain barbarous cruelties which had been committed, on both ſides, during the conteſt between the white roſe and the red in England: he enlarged on the maſſacre in Ireland in the reign of Charles the Firſt, and on the perfidious affair of Glenco in Scotland in the reign of King William. He added that, every thing conſidered, perhaps it belonged leſs to one of my nation than of any other, to complain of the exceſſes of revolutions or civil diſſenſions; and with a ſmile he quoted from Juvenal:

Quis tulerit Gracchos de ſeditione querentes?

I did not chooſe to puſh the argument farther, although, with reſpect to the reciprocal cruelties which were committed during the conteſt between the white roſe and the red, the remark was obvious, that what

a nation.

a nation had done during an age of barbariſm and ſuperſtition, is not to be compared with that of another in the days of knowledge and refinement—and perhaps it would not be difficult to ſhew that the barbarities he enumerated which had been committed in Great Britain and Ireland, were equalled by thoſe committed in France at the ſame periods; in which caſe, there has been ſuch an accumulation here of late, that, on comparing accounts, a moſt dreadful balance of horrors would remain with this country.

I find ſome people believe, or pretend to believe, that the murder of the Duke of Rochfoucauld was the accidental effect of the ſudden frenzy of a few volunteers; but many circumſtances do not admit of that opinion. The magiſtrates of Giſors, although they wiſhed to protect the Duke, did not ſeize and puniſh his aſſaſſins, which looks as if they ſuſpected that the aſſaſſins acted under the direction of ſome men whoſe enmity the magi-

ſtrates were afraid of incurring: and when we recollect that the Duke's conduct, immediately before and after the 20th of June, was highly offenſive to thoſe who ſpirited up the ſhameful inſurrection of that day; when we recollect the characters of ſome of them who were afterwards members of the new formed council of the Commune de Paris, and the orders for arreſt which they iſſued previous to the 2d of September; it will ſeem much more probable that the death of the Duke of Rochefoucauld proceeded from inſtructions from ſome of *them*, than from a ſudden impulſe of the actual murderers.

If any thing could render this crime more atrocious, it would be, that a man who lies under the higheſt obligations to the Duke, was the planner of his aſſaſſination. This idea has been propagated notwithſtanding its enormity, and perhaps is circulated the more on that very account; for the minds of ſome people are peculiarly attached

tached to the wonderful, and they are ſo fond of repeating what creates the greateſt emotion, of whatever nature that emotion is, that the very circumſtance which renders a ſtory leſs credible, is an inducement for one ſet of people to repeat it, and another to believe it. Much ſtronger preſumptive proof than any I have heard, is neceſſary to induce me to think any man capable of ſuch aggravated wickedneſs, particularly if the purſuits of his life have been of a nature to humanize the heart as well as to enlighten the underſtanding, and if the fact can be fully accounted for, without ſuppoſing him to have had any direct or indirect hand in it.

October 26.

The party which is formed againſt Roland and the Girondiſts * manifeſt already as

* Vergniaud, Genſonné, Guadet, and ſome others diſtinguiſhed for their talents, are deputies from the department

as much enmity to them as the ſame party did to the court for turning Roland out of office. What renders them very formidable is the influence their leaders have in the Jacobin ſociety, which begins to murmur againſt Roland and all his friends. To Briſſot they ſhew ſuch peculiar diſlike, that he was lately expelled from the ſociety: he

partment of Gironde, and ſupport Roland; many others have joined them, and the whole are called Girondiſts or Rolandiſts; and Marat, who has a determined hatred to Briſſot, ſometimes calls them in his journal Briſſotins, and the whole claſs Roland Briſſotins. Although Condorcet is of more eminence in the literary world than any I have enumerated as the friends of Roland, I have not mentioned him, becauſe his conduct of late is thought equivocal; it is not quite clear whether he means to attach himſelf to Roland or Danton.

Barrere, deputy from the department of the High Pyrenées, who was a member of the conſtituent aſſembly without being much diſtinguiſhed, begins to be thought of more importance in the Convention: he has not hitherto taken a decided part with either party, but, I am told, he is courted by both.

probably obtained this diſtinction on account of ſome paragraphs which have lately appeared in the daily paper ſuppoſed to be conducted by him. Marat is there treated with a contempt which may be due to his talents, but which it is not prudent to ſhew for a man who is ſtill a favourite of the rabble, and has ſome of the moſt deſperate of them under his direction. In the ſame paper Danton is glanced at with ſeverity, and Robeſpierre is turned into ridicule, in a manner that would not be readily forgiven by a man of a leſs implacable diſpoſition.

Briſſot is a little man, of an intelligent countenance, but of a weakly frame of body.

While many of the Deputies, even thoſe who are no way obnoxious to the violent party, carry pocket-piſtols, or canes which contain ſwords; Briſſot walks through the ſtreets, at all hours, without ſo much as a ſwitch in his hand.

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An acquaintance of his told me that he had ſpoken of this to him as a piece of great imprudence, conſidering the number of his enemies, many of whom he thought capable of aſſaſſination. To this remonſtrance Briſſot anſwered with a careleſs air, "S'ils ſont décidés à m'aſſaſſiner, ils en trouveroient aiſément le moyen de quelque manierre que je fuſſe armé :* d'ailleurs je ſuis d'une conſtitution ſi foible, que ne pouvant faire qu'une triſte défenſe, je preférerois l'honneur de n'en point faire du tout."

But timidity is not to be placed among this man's failings, nor prudence among his virtues.

If Briſſot is too little affected by the rancour of his enemies, Roland ſhews too much

* If they are determined to aſſaſſinate me, they will find the means whatever arms I may carry; beſides, I am of ſo feeble a conſtitution, that, conſcious of being unable to make a good reſiſtance, I think it more honourable to make none.

ſenſibility

ſenſibility to the attacks which are made on him, and this is one reaſon perhaps for their being continued with ſuch ſpirit and perſeverance. Inſinuations tending to render him unpopular, not only appear in certain daily journals, but accuſations againſt him are ſometimes paſted on the walls. He alludes to theſe rather too often in his addreſſes to the Convention, which are ſometimes thought laboured and pompous. While one of this kind was reading in the aſſembly, I heard one of the deputies ſay peeviſhly, "Cet homme pretend nous gouverner par des phraſes*." Another, ſhrugging up his ſhoulders, ſaid, "Il ne cherche qu'à faire admirer la beauté de ſon ſtile †." To which the member who ſat next him replied,

* This man thinks to govern us by fine ſentences.

† His only object is to make us admire the beauty of his ſtyle.

" Auſſi y réuſſit il quelquefois avec l'aide de " ſa femme*."

The tendency of theſe addreſſes and letters generally is, after exculpating himſelf from the charges above mentioned, to prove the neceſſity of order and ſubmiſſion to law.

But if a Miniſter takes the trouble of anſwering, in the National Aſſembly, all anonymous accuſations made againſt him, neither he nor the Aſſembly will be able to do any other buſineſs; and if he has no other means of producing order and ſubmiſſion to law than by ſpeeches and addreſſes, there is no probability of their being produced ſoon.

Some of theſe compoſitions however are very good in themſelves.

Sed nunc non erat his locus.

* In which he ſometimes ſucceeds, with the aſſiſtance of his wife.

—Can

—Can it be thought that the men who ſtormed the King's palace, or thoſe who inſtigated to the maſſacres, will be moved from their deſigns by eloquence or argument?

At the head of the party in oppoſition to Roland are Danton and Robeſpierre; after them are Couthon, Bazire, Thuriot, Merlin de Thionville, St. André, Camille Deſmoulins, Chabot, Collot d'Herbois, Sergent, Legendre, Fabre d'Eglantine, Panis, Marat.

Robeſpierre is a man of ſmall ſize, and a diſagreeable countenance, which announces more fire than underſtanding; in his calmeſt moments, he conceals with difficulty the hatred and malignity which is ſaid to exiſt in his heart, and which his features are admirably formed to expreſs. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Conſtituent Aſſembly by the violence of his ſpeeches, and much more ſince, in the Jacobin ſociety, by the violence of his meaſures. His eloquence is employed in invectives againſt tyrants and ariſtocrates, and in declamations in praiſe of

Liberty,

Liberty. His ſpeeches are barren in argument, but ſometimes fertile in the flowers of fancy.

Robeſpierre is conſidered as an enthuſiaſt rather than a hypocrite: ſome people think him both, which is not without example; but, to me, he ſeems to be too much of the firſt to be a great deal of the ſecond.

He has always refuſed every office of emolument: his paſſion is popularity, not avarice; and he is allowed, even by thoſe who deteſt many parts of his character, and are his enemies, to be incorruptible by money.

Roland is not ſuppoſed to poſſeſs all the energy of character that belongs to Danton; in many other reſpects they differ. Roland is believed to be a thorough republican: Danton, it is thought, does not lay much ſtreſs on the form of government, and would have no objection to monarchy, provided the monarch were a creature of his own; for I do not find that it is ſuſpected that he aſpires to reign in perſon.

Roland

Roland and Danton were often in oppoſition with each other when joined in the ſame adminiſtration. Roland ſtruggled with all his might againſt the uſurpations of the General Council of the Commune of Paris after the 10th of Auguſt: Danton favoured and abetted them. Roland exclaimed againſt the maſſacres in September; did every thing he could to put an end to them, and on that account was himſelf in imminent danger. Danton, though he was then miniſter of juſtice, is accuſed of having been criminally paſſive on that very preſſing occaſion. Roland uſes his whole influence to bring the authors of thoſe ſavage ſcenes to juſtice: Danton uſes his to ſtifle all inveſtigation of that nature.

In external appearance and manner, thoſe two men differ as in all the reſt: Roland is about ſixty years of age; tall, thin, of a mild countenance and pale complexion. His dreſs, every time I have ſeen him, has been

the ſame, a drab-coloured ſuit lined with green ſilk, his grey hair hanging looſe.

Danton is not ſo tall, but much broader than Roland; his form is coarſe, and uncommonly robuſt: Roland's manner is unaſſuming and modeſt—that of Danton fierce and boiſterous; he ſpeaks with the voice of a Stentor, declaims on the bleſſings of freedom with the arrogance of a tyrant, and invites to union and friendſhip with the frown of an enemy.

He muſt be ſenſible of the infinite importance of internal union, of ſtrengthening the executive power, and overawing the factious at the preſent criſis. Theſe might poſſibly avert ſome of the evils that threaten his country, and tend to the happineſs of twenty-four millions of human creatures. But what muſt then become of Danton? he would dwindle in point of importance, and ſhare only the proportion of an individual in the general proſperity.

In

In the comprehenſive vortex of this extraordinary Revolution, this man, originally placed in the lower ranks of life, has been whirled ſo near the ſummit as to have the chief direction of government within his hope—He thinks himſelf, no doubt, better qualified for that office than thoſe who, according to the preſent ſyſtem, are likely to retain it; and if his hopes ſhould be accompliſhed, he perhaps has it in ſpeculation to promote the aggrandiſement of his country, and would exert himſelf for that purpoſe as long as it went hand in hand with his own. But if the gratification of his own ambition is to be had at no other price than the ſacrifice of his country's good, he will not refuſe the purchaſe. This, no doubt, will be thought very profligate; yet in this, perhaps, Danton differs leſs from other ſtateſmen than in ſome other features of his character.

A perſon who is thought to be well ac-

quainted with the characters of the leading deputies of both parties, and capable of forming a juſt judgment of their views, lately hinted to me that there was a probability that Danton and his friends would overſet their opponents.

"I thought that Roland had the majority of the members of the Convention with him?" ſaid I.

"The majority of the members, if left to follow the dictates of their conſciences," reſumed he, "are certainly inclined to ſupport Roland; but Danton may fall on means which have been found efficacious in removing ſcruples of conſcience."

"I had no idea of his being ſo very rich. Where will he find the money?" ſaid I.

"Money, it muſt be confeſſed, is the readieſt and moſt effectual," replied he, ſmiling, "but not the only means—Danton makes uſe of it the leaſt, he has it not always at his command; for what he

does

does uſe on preſſing occaſions belongs to another."

"What other means has he?"

"Why, eloquence," rejoined he. "Do you count that for nothing in your National Aſſembly? I can aſſure you it has conſiderable weight in ours, and Danton may pour it forth with profuſion, having at command not only his own noiſy torrents, but alſo the popular ſtream which flows from the lips of Robeſpierre."

"Will not the effect of their eloquence," I reſumed, "be greatly overbalanced by that of Vergniaud, Buzot, and other friends of Roland?"

"Perhaps it may," ſaid he; "but the ally on whom Danton has the greateſt reliance has not been yet mentioned.

"Who is he?"

"Terror! Terror!" repeated he, "who has acted ſo important a part ſince the beginning of this Revolution. Do you not

think that his gigantic form ſtalks ſometimes before the eyes of the Deputies? Do you imagine that their ſleep is never diſturbed with the viſions of heads carried on pikes, of murdered priſoners, and the mangled bodies of thoſe victims of cowardly revenge, Briſſac, Montmorin, Deleſſart, and Rochefoucald?"

"I ſhould imagine," ſaid I, "that ſuch viſions would rather diſturb the conſciences of Danton and ſome of his friends."

"They have none," rejoined he; "and Danton ſeems to have nearly as little fear as conſcience."

He then told me, that he was convinced that Danton's plan was to terrify a majority of the Deputies into his meaſures, by means of the rabble of the ſuburbs, which he expects to have at his diſpoſal, through Chabot, Marat, and other emiſſaries and tried conductors; in which view the ſections of Paris were prevailed on to preſent the addreſs

already mentioned, to the Aſſembly, which it is believed was drawn up by Danton himſelf.

His emiſſaries, I have been ſince told, are very active in circulating every report that they conceive can render Roland and his friends, particularly the Girondiſts, odious in the eyes of the people. As many of this party are republicans, and were abuſed by their enemies on that account when ſuch ſentiments were not ſo popular as they are at preſent, it was not to be imagined that they would now be accuſed of being royaliſts; but as this is the heavieſt charge that can be brought againſt any ſet of men, the ſame perſons who formerly accuſed them of being republicans, without any regard to conſiſtency, and truſting to the abſurd credulity of the multitude, now accuſe them of being royaliſts—and not entirely without effect.

The friends of Roland brought to Paris

the battalion of Marſeillois, which arrived lately, and unqueſtionably with no other view than to ſerve as a check to the ſans-culottes of the ſuburbs, who are at the command of Danton: their addreſs, which was read in the Convention, is thought to be the compoſition of Barbaroux.

Monſieur Egalité is at preſent ſeldom heard of: he appears however almoſt every day in the Aſſembly; he generally ſtays about half an hour, ſeems to intereſt himſelf little in what is going on, and to intereſt the Aſſembly as little. It has been ſaid that a weak or wrong-headed man of very high rank, or in an eminent ſituation in life, is like a man on the top of a ſteeple, from whence all the world ſeem *little* to him, and where he ſeems *little* in the eyes of all the world—Whether M. Egalité, when in his original elevated ſituation, regarded mankind, or was regarded by them in this light, I will not ſay; but he certainly has

been

been at great pains and expence to bring himſelf low enough to be ſeen and eſtimated at his juſt value by all the world.

October 27.

According to a late decree all emigrants who are taken in arms are to be tried by a court-martial, and executed where they are taken. Notwithſtanding this decree, thirteen were lately conducted to Paris. They were the ſame whom Ruhl had paſſed on the road as was mentioned above. When they came near Paris, new fears were expreſſed in the Convention, of their danger of being maſſacred in the ſtreets.

If there is really any danger of ſuch an event, the inhabitants of Paris muſt be the worſt of ſavages; but the only people I ſee of a ſavage diſpoſition, are certain members of the Convention, and of the Jacobin Club, and a great majority of thoſe who fill the tribunes of both thoſe aſſemblies; but the ſhop-keepers and trades-people (and I take

ſome

ſome pains to be acquainted with their way of thinking) ſeem to be much the ſame as I have always known them; and I am perſuaded that there is no riſk of maſſacres or aſſaſſinations, but from a ſet of wretches who are neither ſhop-keepers nor tradesmen, but idle vagabonds, hired and excited for the purpoſe.—When I hear it aſſerted from the tribune of the Convention, or of the Jacobin Society, that the people are impatient for the death of the King, or inclined to murder unfortunate men while they are conducted to priſon, and yet can perceive no diſpoſition of that nature among the citizens, I cannot help ſuſpecting that thoſe orators themſelves are the people who are impatient for thoſe atrocities, and that they ſpread the notion that this deſire is general among the people, on purpoſe to render it eaſier to commit them, and to make them more quietly ſubmitted to, after they have been committed.

I remember,

I remember, that for ſeveral days before the 2d of September, frequent mention was made of the unaccountable delays of the courts of juſtice with regard to the trial of the priſoners—Certain members of the National Aſſembly threw out hints of the people's impatience on that account; and I heard a man at the Jacobins threaten, that if the ſword of juſtice was withheld much longer, the people would exerciſe it themſelves; and yet, at that time, I could perceive no ſigns of ſuch a diſpoſition among the citizens of Paris.

The dreadful ſcenes in September began—the citizens were ſtruck with terror—they repeated to each other, "We often heard that the people would be driven to this!" Each of them believed that all the city had riſen againſt the priſoners, except the quarter which he himſelf inhabited, and from which his anxiety for his family made him afraid to move—They were told that all who ſpoke

in

in favour of the priſoners were maſſacred by the people, and that many ſuſpected perſons were taken up in the ſtreets. By theſe means the citizens of Paris remained panic-ſtruck, while a handful of villains, in their name, committed the moſt ſhocking enormities.

Reflecting on this, naturally creates a ſuſpicion that ſomething of the ſame nature is intended by the ſame means with reſpect to the King.—It is expected, perhaps, that by dint of repeatedly aſſerting that the people in general are deſirous of his death, they will be driven to ſome violent meaſure if his trial is delayed, alſo that they look upon all who are of contrary ſentiments as ariſtocrates and enemies to the Revolution; and that the citizens will be brought at laſt to deſire, or pretend to deſire, what otherwiſe they would never have thought of.

Whatever there may be in this conjecture, the unhappy emigrants above mentioned were

conducted to the priſon without any attempt on the part of the people to murder them. They were tried by a court-martial the day before yeſterday; if there really exiſted in the minds of the people any eagerneſs for the execution of theſe unfortunate men, their patience was not put to a long proof: nine of the thirteen priſoners were beheaded this morning, four were officers in the army, one a lieutenant in the navy, one a counſellor in the late parliament of Guyenne, the other three belonged formerly to the Garde du corps.

The four who were acquitted were ſervants, and had not been taken in arms.

What renders it more probable that there are people who wiſh to renew the ſcenes of September is, that a rumour was induſtriouſly ſpread that the Prince of Lambeſc was in the diſguiſe of a footman among the priſoners; which occaſioned a rabble from the ſuburbs of St. Antoine,

to

to aſſemble around the Conciergerie, who exclaimed for the head of Lambeſc *; but on the aſſurances of Commiſſioners from the municipality that there was no ſuch perſon in the priſon, the mob diſperſed.

It is more difficult at preſent to execute any great atrocity than it was in the beginning of September, becauſe a great number of profligate and idle fellows, who were at that time in Paris, have been ſent to recruit the armies, and in the mean time Marat and his gang are kept in check by the arrival of the Marſeillois.

* The Prince of Lambeſc is peculiarly obnoxious to the mob of Paris, becauſe, in the year 1789, when the inſurrection of the Pariſians began, and the buſts of Necker and of the Duke of Orleans were carried in triumph, this prince was at the head of ſome dragoons in the ſquare of Lewis XV. Some ſtones being thrown at them from the gardens of the Tuileries, he charged with his dragoons on the multitude, ſome of whom were wounded.

October 28.

October 28.

While I was in the Aſſembly two days ago, a decree was paſſed, which is ſevere and unjuſt in the higheſt degree, and the reaſoning in ſupport of it was as ſophiſtical as the decree itſelf is cruel. The queſtion regarded the French emigrants; it was firſt ſtated, that there is an eſſential difference between thoſe who have gone into countries at war with France, to aſſiſt with their arms or counſel the enemies of their country, and thoſe who have paſſed into neutral ſtates, ſimply with a view to their own ſafety—"The former," it was ſaid, "are traitors, and ought to be puniſhed with death; the latter are cowards, who have abandoned their country in the hour of danger, for which they deſerve only to be baniſhed." Accordingly, by the decree they are baniſhed, with this additional penalty, that if they ever return, they ſhall be puniſhed with death—not for having emigrated (on that account

account they are only baniſhed), but for having broken the law which condemned them to perpetual baniſhment."

This is ſurely a diſtinction without a difference; for by this cruel and unjuſt decree; the perſon who leaves his native country merely from fear, and takes no part againſt it, is in effect ſubjected to the ſame penalty with thoſe who have joined the invading armies, and may be taken in arms—The former is liable to be put to death if he returns to his native country, and the latter cannot ſuffer any puniſhment till he does the ſame.

It is as if two ſervants in a family were tried as accomplices with incendiaries who had ſet their maſter's houſe on fire: the one is clearly proved to have aided and abetted the incendiaries; nothing appears againſt the other, but that he leaped out of the window to ſave himſelf from the flames. According to the ſpirit of this decree, the judge might

pronounce

pronounce ſentence in the ſuppoſed caſe to the following effect: "There is a wide difference between the crimes of theſe two men, and ſo there ſhall be in their puniſhments. The one muſt be hanged as an accomplice of the incendiaries; and as for the other who jumped out of the window, he ought to have been aſhamed ever to have ſhewn his face; and if he had ſtaid out of the way and never appeared, I acknowledge it would be unjuſt to hang him: but ſince he is taken, that alters the caſe; he merits now to be hanged, and I ſentence him to that puniſhment accordingly; but obſerve, it is not for jumping out of the window, but for the aggravating circumſtance of being taken."

By this abſurd and iniquitous decree, many women are puniſhed for that timidity which is natural to the ſex; and many men are ruined in their fortunes, and reduced to abſolute want, whoſe only view in emigrat-

ing was to ſave their lives, not from the ſword of juſtice, but from the poniards of aſſaſſins.

That two parties in a ſtate who are contending for the conduct of government ſhould diſlike each other, is common; but that rancorous degree to which it is arrived in France is beyond any thing of the ſame kind that I ever knew in England, and, I ſhould hope, for the credit of mankind, beyond any thing ever known before in any other country. I made this obſervation to a gentleman who pretends to know the French thoroughly.---"The French," ſaid he, "have been accuſed of being very inconſtant *lovers:* I know nothing of that; but I do aſſure you," continued he, playing on an expreſſion recorded of Dr. Johnſon, "that they are very ſincere and conſtant *haters.*"

In confirmation of this obſervation, I perceive every day the ſtrongeſt marks of violent

lent hatred between the leaders of the two oppoſite parties. They ſeem to agree in nothing but in a mutual hatred againſt the unfortunate emigrants, which however does not in the leaſt degree diminiſh their reciprocal hatred: and I am told, that the ſame hatred prevails among the emigrants themſelves in all the different countries of Europe; that thoſe who emigrated at one period of the revolution hate thoſe who emigrated at another, as cordially as all of them have very good reaſon to hate the men who form this Convention, and are paſſing ſuch ſevere decrees againſt them.

October 26.

Marat has carried his calumnies ſuch a length, that even the party which he wiſhes to ſupport ſeem to be aſhamed of him; and he is ſhunned and apparently deteſted by every body elſe. When he enters the hall of the Aſſembly, he is avoided on all ſides;

and when he ſeats himſelf, thoſe near him generally riſe and change their places. He ſtood a conſiderable time yeſterday near the tribune, watching an opportunity to ſpeak. I ſaw him at one time addreſs himſelf to Louvet; and, in doing ſo, he attempted to lay his hand on Louvet's ſhoulder, who inſtantly ſtarted back with looks of averſion, as one would do from the touch of a noxious reptile, exclaiming! "*Ne me touchez pas!*"

Nothing can diſconcert Marat; he perſevered in ſoliciting the privilege of being heard *pour un fait* *. The Aſſembly ſhewed the greateſt unwillingneſs to hear him: he exclaimed that it was *un fait qui intéreſſoit le ſalut public* †.

They were at laſt under the neceſſity of hearing him; he elevated his head as uſual when he ſpeaks from the tribune, ſurveyed

* For a fact.

† A fact regarding the public ſafety.

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the audience with compoſure and audacity, and in a hollow voice and with ſolemnity of cadence ſaid, "It is not the citizen who now addreſſes you, that provokes to murder, or puts public freedom in danger, but thoſe in office, men who make uſe of their authority to oppreſs the people; *they* are the tyrants, who, under the pretence of maintaining the tranquillity of Paris, arreſt and murder the moſt innocent and meritorious citizens." He then accuſed Roland of having given orders for arreſting an excellent patriot whom he named.

This turned out to be entirely a miſrepreſentation; but before Marat deſcended from the tribune, Barbaroux informed the Aſſembly that Marat had paid a viſit at the barracks of the battalion of Marſeillois lately arrived; that, at ſight of their accommodations, he had lamented that ſo many brave ſans-culottes were ſo ill lodged, while a regiment of dragoons, compoſed of ancient va-

let-de-chambres and coachmen of the nobility, with a mixture of the King's gardes-du-corps, all anti-revolutionists, were ſuperbly quartered in the Ecole Militaire: that he had inſinuated many things tending to raiſe a jealouſy between the Marſeillois and this regiment of dragoons, and had hinted that it was owing to the Convention that the former were ſo ungratefully treated: and that he had invited ſome of them to breakfaſt with him.

It was evident that Marat's deſign in this was to have ſeduced the Marſeillois from thoſe who had engaged them to come to Paris, to attach them to his own party, and to engage them, inſtead of oppoſing the turbulent behaviour of the mob of St. Antoine, to act with them as their townſmen did on the 10th of Auguſt.

The Marſeillois however refuſed his invitation. But Barbaroux's narrative occaſioned a violent outcry in the Aſſembly againſt Marat:

rat: the epithets *ſcélérat*, *aſſaſſin*, were often repeated, and one member ſaid that Marat had lately been heard to declare that there would be no tranquillity in the ſtate till two hundred and ſixty-eight heads were cut off.

"I am the perſon," cried another member, "who heard him ſay ſo."

I threw my eyes on Marat, to obſerve how he would look on hearing ſuch an accuſation.

"Very well," ſaid Marat; "I did ſay ſo, "and it is my opinion."

I ſhould have thought I had miſtaken or heard indiſtinctly, if he had not reſumed—"I repeat it," ſaid Marat: "That is my opinion, you will not pretend that men are to be puniſhed for their opinions; and as for the ſilly ſtory of Barbaroux," continued he, "it is a malignant miſconſtruction of my patriotic civilities and hoſpitality to the Marſeillois. What then does the whole of this mighty buſineſs amount to? why, that I

ſaid, you would not enjoy peace or tranquillity till the oppreſſors of the people loſt their heads, of whom there are two hundred and ſixty-eight at the moſt moderate calculation. I am alſo accuſed of having ſhewn more attention to the battalion juſt arrived from Marſeilles, than any other member of the Convention—If theſe are crimes," added he, ſweeping the edge of his right hand acroſs his throat, " égorgez-moi!"

This new denunciation againſt Marat was tranſmitted to the ſame committee who have the former under their conſideration; and Marat's accuſation of Roland was conſidered as invidious, and an attempt to obſtruct the courſe of juſtice.

I have never heard of any other of his good qualities—but this man certainly poſſeſſes a great deal of courage both perſonal and political: no danger can terrify him, no detection can diſconcert him; his heart, as well as his forehead, ſeems to be of braſs.

October

October 29.

I was preſent when Ruhl of Straſbourg, whom I formerly mentioned, informed the Convention, that being in the commiſſion for examining certain letters in the German language, which had been intercepted, he had found one from a corporal in the Pruſſian army to his wife in Sileſia. In this letter he ſaid there were many expreſſions of conjugal love and parental affection, while in the ſame letter the French were painted in the blackeſt colours. "This poor corporal," continued Ruhl, "has had the perſeverance and generoſity to ſave two ducats out of his pay, which he incloſed in the letter to his wife, who, it appears, was then in childbed. I deſire to be authorized to tranſmit the money, with what addition I pleaſe, to this honeſt corporal's wife, with a letter aſſuring her that the French do not deſerve all the ill names which her huſband gives them."

Ruhl

Ruhl is a man about ſeventy years of age; there is a great appearance of naïveté in his manner. I happened to mention this ſtory of the corporal to a Frenchman of my acquaintance:—" Le conte eſt beau," ſaid he, " et ne manque que la vraiſemblance pour le rendre intéreſſant*."

" He had the letter in his hand," ſaid I; " how can you doubt it?"

" If he had twenty letters," replied the Frenchman, " I muſt doubt it, becauſe a Pruſſian corporal is generous in nothing but in *coups de batons*; and it is not in the nature of a man who is diſtributing theſe from morning to night, to have tender affections of any kind.—Such oppoſite and diſcordant qualities cannot inhabit the ſame breaſt."

The incredulity of my French acquaint-

* The tale is agreeable, and only needs probability to make it intereſting.

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ance I think unreaſonable; and I will here inſert an anecdote, although it is much more expoſed to his criticiſm, becauſe it comes from a quarter, which leaves no doubt on my mind of its truth.

Monſieur de Bertrand, chevalier de Malte, and brother to Monſieur de Bertrand de Moleville late Miniſter of the Marine, was arreſted and confined in the priſon of the Abbaye, ſoon after the 10th of Auguſt. This gentleman was brought at midnight on the third of September before the dreadful tribunal in that priſon. He is a man of great coolneſs and firmneſs of mind, which was of infinite ſervice to him in this emergency; for although the ſymptoms of fear ought not on ſuch occaſions to have been conſidered as a preſumption of guilt, yet that conſtruction was put on them by the judges, and, without any other preſumption, they ſometimes proved fatal to the priſoner.

When Mr. Bertrand was queſtioned, he anſwered

anſwered with an undiſturbed voice and countenance, "that he had not the leaſt idea of what he had been arreſted for, that thoſe who arreſted him could not inform him, that nobody had informed him ſince, and that he was convinced he had been taken up by miſtake."

Struck with the cool and undaunted manner in which he addreſſed them, and having no particular accuſation nor proof of any kind againſt him, the judges ordered him to be releaſed.

Two men covered with blood, who had been employed in killing the priſoners, and attended in the expectation of the ſignal for diſpatching Mr. Bertrand, ſeemed ſurpriſed but not diſpleaſed at the unuſual order. They conducted him through the court of the Abbaye, and on the way aſked if he had any relation to whoſe houſe he wiſhed to go.

He anſwered, that he had a ſiſter-in-law to whom he intended to go directly.

" How very much ſurpriſed and delighted muſt ſhe be to ſee you!" ſaid they.

" I am perſuaded ſhe will," replied Mr. Bertrand.

One of the men then aſked the other if he ſhould not be glad to be preſent at this meeting; to which he eagerly ſaid he ſhould: and both declared they had a curioſity to be witneſſes to the joyful meeting between Mr. Bertrand and his ſiſter-in-law.

The gentleman was aſtoniſhed and embarraſſed: he repreſented, that his relation being a delicate woman, their appearance might very much alarm her, particularly at ſuch an unſeaſonable hour; that he could not think of giving them ſuch unneceſſary trouble;" and added whatever he thought would divert them from ſo unexpected a propoſal.

They urged that they would wait in the parlour till he had advertiſed the lady of their being in the houſe, to prevent her being alarmed: that ſo far from being a trouble,

a trouble, it would give them great pleaſure to accompany him : that they wiſhed to have a relaxation from the work in which they had been ſo long employed, and they hoped he would not deny them the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the meeting between him and his friends.

Mr. Bertrand did not think it prudent to refuſe ſuch petitioners any longer ; he therefore aſſented—they accompanied him to the houſe. He ſent the ſervant, who opened the door at the ſound of his voice, to advertiſe the lady that he was arrived, and well. He afterwards went himſelf and informed her of the ſtrange fancy of the two men, who waited in another room. The lady had ariſen and dreſſed herſelf haſtily on her firſt hearing of his arrival : every body in the family had done the ſame, and had flocked around him with expreſſions of joy. The two men were admitted, and were witneſſes to the happineſs that all manifeſted : they ſeemed much gratified

tified and affected at the ſight; it formed the ſtrongeſt contraſt with thoſe they had ſo lately ſeen. Mr. Bertrand offered them money, which they would on no account accept, declaring that they were already paid for accompanying him in the only way they deſired. After remaining a conſiderable time, they took their leave, wiſhing the lady all happineſs, and thanking Mr. Bertrand for allowing them the pleaſure of being witneſſes to ſo pleaſing a meeting.

Nobody can be more aware than I am of the inconſiſtency which from this narrative appears in the diſpoſitions of the ſame individuals. That two men ſo unfeeling as to be actively engaged in the remorſeleſs ſcenes at the priſon ſhould have the ſenſibility to wiſh to be witneſſes of the meeting between Mr. Bertrand and his friends, and behave on the whole as thoſe two men did, is what no perſon, who has ſtudied the uſual analogies and combinations of the human diſpoſitions,

would have expected. The firſt turn of mind ſeems incompatible with the ſecond: I know no theory by which they can be reconciled; I attempt no explanation: I repeat the facts as I have them from authority to which I cannot refuſe my belief, and becauſe they form a new inſtance of the aſtoniſhing variety, and even oppoſition of character to be found in that wonderful creature, MAN.

October 30.

Part of the equipage of the French Princes was ſeized during the retreat of the Duke of Brunſwick's army, amongſt which was found a pocket-book belonging to *Monſieur* the King's brother. Several packets of letters, forming a conſiderable correſpondence on various ſubjects, between the emigrants and their friends, were alſo found at Verdun and Longwy by Kellermann's army. All thoſe papers have been tranſmitted to the Convention, and by it ſubmitted to the examination of a committee.

Moſt

Moſt of the letters, I am told, are of a private nature, and no way relative to what concerns the ſtate or the public in general. It would be highly unbecoming therefore in the Convention to order thoſe to be publiſhed, which can have no other effect than to gratify the ſpirit of hatred, envy and ſlander, and create diſcord and jealouſy among families and acquaintance. It is likewiſe ſaid, that important diſcoveries have been made by ſome of theſe letters, and that they form a complete proof of an intelligence between the King and his brothers, for the ruin of the conſtitution*. In ſupport of this aſſertion, a letter was this day read in the Aſſembly, ſaid to have been found in the pocket book above mentioned. The letter is from the Marquis of Toulongeon,

* This *complete* proof, I make no doubt, will be of the nature of the proofs already publiſhed, which are alſo called complete, but to every candid mind muſt appear very deficient.

Lieutenant General in the French army of the King's brothers: it unfolds certain meaſures he had taken for arranging the troops in ſuch a manner as to facilitate their deſertion to the Auſtrians; gives the reaſon why he had not gone himſelf to join the Princes at Coblentz; adds that he is of more uſe to their cauſe by retaining a command in the French army; that the motives of his conduct are known to the Emperor, and approved of by the King, &c.

A decree of accuſation immediately paſſed againſt Toulongeon, who, fortunately for him, however, has already made his eſcape: and after the paſſing of this decree, a member expreſſed his ſurpriſe, that among ſo many decrees of accuſation as had been paſſed, they had not yet pronounced the moſt important of all, namely one againſt the King.

On which Maile, who is of the Committee of Legiſlation, ſaid, that the proceſs of

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the King required the greateſt ſolemnity, not becauſe there was any difficulty in proving his guilt, nor to demonſtrate it to the French nation, who were already convinced, but to ſatisfy and give a great example to all Europe, and to avoid the errors which the Engliſh had committed in not obſerving all the neceſſary ſolemnities in the trial of Charles the Firſt, for which they were cenſured by many hiſtorians, and juſtified by none.

In anſwer to this, Ruhl obſerved, that the Engliſh nation had been juſtified for the ſentence paſſed on Charles Stuart by a writer of greater genius than all the hiſtorians who ever have written on the ſubject, namely, John Milton, author of Paradiſe Loſt.

Hitherto I had conſidered Ruhl in a favourable light; there is ſomething natural in his manner, and I thought him a man of

humanity; but one of that diſpoſition would hardly have made ſuch an obſervation at this particular time in the Convention.

October 31.

The Trial of Charles the Firſt of England, tranſlated into French from the State Trials, is to be found of late on all the bookſellers tables around the hall of the Convention. An abridgement of the ſame is cried by the hawkers of pamphlets in the Palais Royal and the various entries to the National Aſſembly: the converſation is now greatly turned to that ſubject, and to the expected proceſs of Lewis XVI. I never believed, however, that there was a ſerious intention in the Convention to bring the King to trial, and ſtill leſs did I think it probable that it would be in their contemplation to bring him to the ſcaffold; an idea which I cannot entertain without horror. Beſides, however devoid

devoid of principle ſome of them may be, I could not conceive that they would commit ſuch an act of cruelty and injuſtice, without any of the motives which incite wicked men to deeds of ſuch atrocity. Their perſonal intereſt evidently dictates the preſervation of the King's life, and it ſeemed unlikely that any member of the Convention, one only excepted, could be actuated by perſonal enmity: they are almoſt all of the middle or inferior ranks of life; none of them have ever had opportunities for that kind of intercourſe with the King, which uſually generates either perſonal friendſhip or hatred: they may like or diſlike, reſpect or deſpiſe his general conduct and character; but I could ſee none of the uſual ſources of perſonal hatred either good or bad, eſpecially as, with reſpect to the exerciſe of authority, the whole reign of Lewis XVI. has been a reign of moderation. He has always manifeſted a deſire to meet the wiſhes of his ſub-

jects; and perhaps his averſion to every meaſure which had the appearance of being violent, with too great a diſpoſition to *grant*, have deprived him of the power of *refuſing*, and reduced him to the ſtate he is in.—I am perſuaded that none of his anceſtors had ſo juſt a claim to the epithets which the public and hiſtorians have affixed to their names, as the unfortunate Lewis XVI. has to that of *Louis le trop bon*.

I have excepted one perſon, to whom the preceding reaſoning does not fully apply, and who may be ſuppoſed to be inſtigated by hatred or revenge; but allowing this to be the caſe, from all I have obſerved or heard ſince I have been in this country, there is reaſon to think that his influence is infinitely too ſmall to engage either party in meaſures of which they diſapprove.

Theſe conſiderations were ſufficient hitherto to induce me to believe that there was no ſerious intention in the Convention

to bring the King to a trial.—But I now begin to fear that a proceſs in ſome ſhape or other will very ſoon be brought on, and when once begun, there is no knowing what may be the iſſue in a town ſo much in the power of the populace, and of *ſuch* a populace as that which Paris contains at preſent.

I am led to this alteration of opinion from having very lately heard a number of citizens, whom I thought of a different opinion, declare their conviction that the King was betraying the country. The rancorous activity of his enemies has at length perſuaded them, that, inſtead of another Henry IV. between whom and Lewis XVI. they formerly found a reſemblance, they actually had another Lewis XI. or Charles IX. on the throne.

Beſides, whether the King ought or ought not to be judged, is not merely conſidered as a matter of juſtice or even of expediency,

but, moſt unfortunately, it has become a party queſtion, in which paſſion may have more weight than either. Danton's party knows that the Girondiſts wiſh to ſave the King, which is reaſon ſufficient with the former to do every thing in their power to promote his trial and condemnation, and to repreſent the oppoſition of the other party as a proof of their being ariſtocrates and royaliſts in their hearts.

Marat, who is the great agent of Danton and Robeſpierre, declares that it is highly unjuſt, and would be a ſhameful deviation from the flattering tenet of egalité, after having condemned M. de la Porte and other inferior criminals, to paſs over the greateſt criminal of all.

Finally, I have been impreſſed with fears reſpecting the fate of the King from a variety of circumſtances, too minute to be mentioned, which have ſtruck me very lately. It is certainly horrid and diſgraceful to human

man nature, but I am afraid that the populace of this city have heard ſo much of a grand example that ought to be exhibited to Europe, and their imaginations have dwelt ſo long on the idea of a King being tried for his life, and afterwards led to execution, that they cannot with patience bear the thoughts of being diſappointed of ſuch an extraordinary ſpectacle.

November 1.

When Roland and his friends were attacked by ſo active and ſo virulent an oppoſition, it was not to be expected that they could eſcape an accuſation ſo eaſy to make, and ſo difficult to refute, as that they were not actuated by the genuine principles of patriotiſm, but merely by ſelfiſh motives, and that they had no other object in view than to retain the lucrative offices of the ſtate in their own hands.

To ſtifle the voice of ſlander at once, upon this ſubject, Genſonné ſurpriſed the Convention lately by a ſpeech in which he lamented

lamented that a party-ſpirit had manifeſted itſelf ſo ſtrongly among them. He added that diffidence in each other, the natural effect of the numerous treaſons which had lately been diſcovered, alſo prevailed to an alarming degree; which, joined to the envy which generates hatred, and produces diviſion, might enable deſpotiſm to ariſe again out of anarchy: he added, that the preſent times required a great example of ſelf-denial to dry up one great ſource of party ſpirit, ſilence calumny, and prove to the world that they had not made war on royalty on purpoſe to divide the regal ſpoils among themſelves, but to obtain freedom to their country—He therefore moved that it ſhould be decreed that no member of the Convention ſhould be capable of enjoying any office in the government for ten years after the decree had paſſed.

All the members, as if with one voice, called out, Yes, yes: they ſprung from their

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ſeats, in a fit of enthuſiaſm, and demanded that the propoſal of Genſonnè ſhould be inſtantly decreed, which was done accordingly.

This practice of paſſing decrees the inſtant they are propoſed, without reflection, may be attended with the worſt conſequences; as for this decree in particular, it ſtrikes ſo directly againſt the views of the leading men of both parties, and is liable, in other reſpects, to ſo many weighty objections, that I ſuſpect it will not be long in force even in France; but if it ſhould, it may afford comfort to the minds of Engliſhmen at this awful period, when there is a juſt dread of the prevalence of French manners and French opinions, to reflect that there is too much ſolid good ſenſe in the Britiſh Parliament to adopt ſo fooliſh a meaſure

November 2.

A moſt unrelenting ſpirit againſt the emigrants,

emigrants, appears as often as they are mentioned in the Conventional Aſſembly—I ſpoke of this to one of the deputies this evening, expreſſing my ſurpriſe that no member ever ſaid any thing in their favour, although I could hardly imagine but that, in ſo large an aſſembly, many of the members had relations or friends among them.

In anſwer to my obſervation the deputy ſaid, that the greater part of the emigrants were nobleſſe, of which claſs very few are members of the Convention, ſo that there is little or no connection by blood, and as little by friendſhip, between the deputies and emigrants. I take it for granted, added he, that you do not think any meaſure too ſevere for thoſe emigrants who have taken arms againſt their country, and as for thoſe who do not appear in arms, it is well known that they are doing every thing in their power to excite every nation in Europe, particularly the Engliſh, againſt France, and

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if they ſucceed, and produce a counter revolution, there is no doubt but theſe emigrants will exerciſe ſtill greater cruelties againſt the patriots.

I replied, that the Aſſembly had ſaved the emigrants the trouble of exciting war, by declaring it firſt; for that no nation had declared war with France hitherto till France declared war with it; that with reſpect to England, I imagined that whether ſhe ſhould enter into a war with France or not, would depend on the conduct of the Convention, and not on any thing the emigrants could ſay or do; and, finally, that if men were to act cruelly towards thoſe whoſe perſons or property were in their power, on a ſuppoſition that, if the ſituations were reverſed, thoſe whom they oppreſs would oppreſs them, in that caſe there would be nothing but oppreſſion and cruelty in the world.

I then mentioned the caſe of one perſon

who had emigrated in very particular circumſtances, and had returned to France ſoon after, ſtating the caſe in the ſtrongeſt and moſt favourable light, which I corroborated with documents that I had in my poſſeſſion.

Other deputies joined us, to whom I alſo mentioned this caſe, and one of them taking me aſide, aſſured me he ſaw it in the ſame point of view that I did, and that he would do what he could to ſerve the perſon in queſtion, which, notwithſtanding the favourable circumſtances, muſt be attempted with delicacy, becauſe ſuch a hatred prevailed in the Convention againſt all emigrants, and ſuch a jealouſy of each other, that whoever ſeemed active or zealous in their favour, had a greater probability of injuring himſelf, than of ſerving them. You will readily believe, added he, how difficult it is to procure any thing like favour to one who is both a noble and an emigrant, at a period when thoſe nobles who never emigrated,

but on the contrary have taken an active part in the Revolution, are looked on with diſtruſtful and jealous eyes.—He then gave me directions how to proceed, and told me to whom, and in what manner to apply—I have followed his advice, and with the beſt hopes of ſucceſs.

In the gratification of this hatred to the emigrants, as in many other inſtances, the Convention overſteps good policy.

General Cuſtine has tranſmitted letters to the Convention, which have been addreſſed to him from emigrants in foreign ſervices, who now wiſh to ſerve their country, provided they may be allowed to return with ſafety.

General Biron has likewiſe written to the Convention in favour of ſome officers who have been in the army of the Prince of Condé, and now implore forgiveneſs, and the General's mediation with the Aſſembly,

that

that they may be permitted to return to France.

In both caſes the Convention paſſed to the order of the day—yet as Biron is at preſent a very popular general, and as Cuſtine has juſt taken poſſeſſion of Frankfort, and has been always ſucceſsful, it might have been expected that more attention would have been paid to their applications.

Beſides, at this moment of ſucceſs, lenient and conciliatory meaſures towards thoſe unfortunate people who left their country at a time when, aſſuredly, there were many reaſons for leaving it, would appear generous to all Europe, it would pleaſe the numerous relations and friends of the emigrants in every department of France, and go farther to attach the whole nation to the Revolution, than any of the decrees they have lately paſſed, or perhaps than even the victories they have lately gained.

But

But there are men in this Convention, and unfortunately leading men too, who are ready to ſacrifice every conſideration to the gratification of their paſſions, and whoſe ruling paſſions ſeem to be hatred and revenge.

This day the Preſidency of Guadet ended, and Herault de Sechelles was elected to ſucceed him.—Herault is a man of about thirty years of age, of an open engaging countenance, and genteel appearance, circumſtances which diſtinguiſh him in this Aſſembly: it is alſo remarkable, that he is not conſidered as ſo much devoted to the Girondiſts as any of the late Preſidents, which is conſidered as a proof that they are rather loſing ground.

November 3.

As the General Council of the Municipality of Paris, which was formed at midnight on the ninth of Auguſt, claim the whole glory of the Revolution, they thought

they had the beſt right to retain alſo the power of the ſtate.

Without conſulting the National Aſſembly, they iſſued orders for ſearching many hotels, under various pretexts; detachments of national guards, under leaders choſen by the Council, were alſo ſent to particular churches and palaces in Paris and the neighbourhood, and conſiderable quantities of plate and other valuable effects carried away, under the pretence of being for the public uſe, but of which a large portion has been embezzled.

Some members of the National Aſſembly began a ſhort time after the tenth of Auguſt to ſpeak on the ſubject of theſe embezzlements, and propoſed to make an enquiry into that buſineſs: but the National Aſſembly had then loſt all energy; and, according to an expreſſion of one of the deputies, it had become a mere engine for manufacturing

decrees

decrees at the requiſition of the Council of the Commune. As often as any mention was made of eſtabliſhing a committee to examine into the extent of theſe embezzlements, and by whom they had been committed, the propoſal was heard with evident marks of ill humour by all the members of the Aſſembly who were alſo members of the Commune, and by others intimately connected with them.—They who made ſuch propoſals, finding themſelves unſupported, dropped them; it was not thought prudent to irritate the men who iſſued thoſe orders of arreſt by which the priſons had been filled, and who, in the opinion of many, had alſo iſſued the orders by which they had been emptied.

It was expected that the Convention would be able to effect what the late National Aſſembly attempted in vain, and to reſtrain the power of the Municipality within its proper limits. An account of the uſurpa-

tions of the General Council had been written to all the departments of France; many of the deputies to the Convention had come to Paris, prepoſſeſſed with the idea that Paris wiſhed to govern the ſtate independent of all the other departments—that the General Council governed Paris, and that Danton and Robeſpierre governed the General Council.

Having heard that a debate of importance was expected, I went to the Conventional Aſſembly two days ago earlier than uſual.

Roland was to preſent a memorial reſpecting the ſtate of Paris. When he appeared, contrary to cuſtom, they poſtponed the buſineſs then tranſacting, to attend to him.—He began by ſaying, that if the ſtrength of his voice was equal to that of his mind, he ſhould himſelf read the addreſs which he held in his hand; but as his breaſt was delicate, he begged that one of the ſecretaries might be allowed

to read it for him.—Lanjuinais aſcended the tribune, and read.

In this memorial were ſtated all the uſurpations and acts of deſpotiſm which had been committed by the Commune ſince the tenth of Auguſt, many of which were unknown to the generality of the deputies, and ſeemed to fill them with equal ſurpriſe and indignation.—Roland ſtated that he had often required ſome account of the money, plate, and effects which had been ſeized by commiſſioners from the Commune at Senlis, Chantilly, l'Hotel de Coigny, and other hotels, without having had any ſatisfactory anſwer: that he had alſo addreſſed himſelf to them to know how Lewis XVI. and his family were treated in the Temple, but no notice had been taken of his demand. After having demonſtrated how both public and private property had been violated, he demanded whether perſonal ſurety had been better protected. This led him to mention

the horrors of the beginning of September, which he pretty plainly inſinuated were committed by the leaders of the Common Council, who, he aſſerted, were ſtill meditating the moſt rapacious and bloody deſigns in ſupport of their avarice and ambition.—With this memorial Roland preſented a letter addreſſed to the Miniſter of Juſtice, in which information is given, "that expreſſions of the moſt alarming tendency had been uſed by certain perſons of late; that it had been even inſinuated that the buſineſs begun in September had not been completed; that the whole cabal of Roland and Briſſot ſhould be cut off; that there was a ſcheme for this purpoſe; that Vergniaud, Guadet, Buzot, La Source, and others diſpleaſed the real patriots; and that *Robeſpierre* was the propereſt perſon for conducting the government in the preſent emergency.

"Ah the villain!" one of the members called

called aloud, as ſoon as this name was pronounced.

There was ſuch an uproar in the Aſſembly for ſome time after Roland's memorial had been read, that no perſon in particular could be diſtinctly heard: the noiſe was moſtly occaſioned by expreſſions of rage againſt Robeſpierre, and partly by a cry that the memorial ſhould be printed, and ſent to all the departments and all the municipalities in France.

Robeſpierre aſcended the tribune: the cry againſt him was ſo violent that his voice could not be diſtinguiſhed: he at laſt was heard to ſay, that he wiſhed to juſtify himſelf from the calumnies of the Miniſter. He was interrupted by a new cry to cloſe the diſcuſſion: he then ſaid he wiſhed to ſpeak againſt the printing of the memorial.

This was alſo refuſed by a pretty univerſal exclamation; but on its being obſerved, that they could not decree a propoſition

without hearing thoſe who wiſhed to ſpeak againſt it, he was allowed to proceed. He began with a few ſentences concerning the printing the paper, and immediately deviated into an eulogium on his own conduct. Guadet, the Preſident, reminded him of the queſtion.

" I have no need of your admonitions," ſaid Robeſpierre; " I know very well on what I have to ſpeak."

" He thinks himſelf already Dictator," exclaimed a member.

" Robeſpierre, ſpeak againſt the printing," ſaid the Preſident.

Robeſpierre then reſumed, and declaimed on every thing except againſt the printing.

His voice was again drowned by an outcry againſt his wanderings. The Preſident ſtrove to procure ſilence, that Robeſpierre might be heard; which he no ſooner was, than he accuſed the Preſident of encouraging the clamour againſt him.

No accuſation could be more unjuſt or more

more injudicious than this, becauſe it was falſe, and becauſe every body preſent was witneſs to its falſehood. The Preſident had done all in his power that Robeſpierre might be heard, and had actually broken three bells by ringing to procure him ſilence.

The Preſident then ſaid, " Robeſpierre, vous voyez les efforts que je fais pour ramener le ſilence—mais je vous pardonne une calomnie de plus *."

Robeſpierre reſumed, and continued to ſpeak of himſelf a conſiderable time in the moſt flattering terms.

Many people prefer ſpeaking of themſelves to any other topic of diſcourſe, as well as Robeſpierre; but in him this propenſity is irreſiſtible. Praiſe acts as a cordial on the ſpirits of moſt people, but it is the praiſe they receive from others which has that

* Robeſpierre, you are yourſelf witneſs to the efforts I have made to reſtore ſilence; but I forgive you that additional calumny.

effect:

effect: what is peculiar to Robeſpierre is, that he ſeems as much enlivened by the eulogies he beſtows on himſelf, as others are by the applauſe of their fellow-citizens.

The panegyric he pronounced on his own virtues evidently raiſed his ſpirits, and inſpired him with a courage which at laſt precipitated him into raſhneſs. "A ſyſtem of calumny is eſtabliſhed," ſaid he with a lofty voice, "and againſt whom is it directed? againſt a zealous patriot. Yet who is there among you who dares riſe and accuſe me to my face?"

"Moi," exclaimed a voice from one end of the hall. There was a profound ſilence; in the midſt of which, a thin, lank, pale-faced man ſtalked along the hall like a ſpectre; and being come directly oppoſite to the tribune, he fixed Robeſpierre, and ſaid, *Oui, Robeſpierre, c'eſt moi qui t'accuſe* *.

It was Jean-Baptiſte Louvet.

* Yes, Robeſpierre, it is I who accuſe you.

Robeſ-

Robeſpierre was confounded: he ſtood motionleſs, and turned pale; he could not have ſeemed more alarmed had a bleeding head ſpoken to him from a charger.

Louvet aſcended, and appeared in the front of the tribune, while Robeſpierre ſhrunk to one ſide.

Danton perceiving how very much his friend was diſconcerted, called out, "Continue, Robeſpierre, there are many good citizens here to hear you."

This ſeemed to be a hint to the people in the galleries, that they might ſhew themſelves in ſupport of the patriot—but they remained neuter.

The Aſſembly was in ſuch confuſion for ſome time, that nothing diſtinct could be heard. Robeſpierre again attempted to ſpeak—his diſcourſe was as confuſed as the Aſſembly—he quitted the tribune.

Danton went into it: his drift was to prevent Louvet from being heard, and to propoſe a future day for taking into con-

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ſideration Roland's memorial; and as Marat ſeemed at this time to be rather en mauvaiſe odeur with the Convention, Danton thought proper to make a declaration which had no connection with the debate, and which nobody thought ſincere: " Je déclare à la Republique entière," he exclaimed, " que je n'aime point l'individu Marat. Je déclare avec franchiſe que j'ai fait l'expérience de ſon temperament, et qu'il eſt non-ſeulement volcanique et acariâtre—mais inſociable *."

This conveys no favourable idea of Danton's eloquence. After finding the two firſt qualities in Marat, it is ſurpriſing that he could ſearch for a third. It is as if a man were to give as his reaſon for not keeping company with an old acquaintance, that he not only found him quite mad, and always ready to ſtab thoſe near him with a dagger,

* I declare to the whole Republic, that I do not love Marat. I frankly acknowledge that I have ſome experience of the man; and I find not only that he is boiſterous and quarrelſome, but alſo unſociable.

but

but that, over and above, he was ſometimes a little too reſerved.

This did not divert Louvet from his purpoſe: he perſevered, and the Aſſembly decreed that he ſhould be heard.

November 4.

He began by requeſting the Preſident's protection, that he might be heard without interruption, for he was going to mention things that would be mortally offenſive to ſome preſent—who, he ſaid, were already ſore, and would be apt to ſcream when he came to touch the tender parts.—As he continued a little on ſome preliminary topics, Danton exclaimed, "I deſire that the accuſer would put his finger into the wound."

"I intend it," replied Louvet; "but why does Danton ſcream beforehand?"

Louvet then proceeded to unfold the popular artifices by which Robeſpierre acquired his influence in the Jacobin Society: "that he had introduced into it a number of men devoted

devoted to him, and, by an inſolent exerciſe of his power, had driven ſome of the moſt reſpectable members out of it; that after the tenth of Auguſt he had been choſen of the Council General of the Commune, and acquired equal influence there. Where he was on that memorable day," ſaid Louvet, "nobody can tell; all we know is, that, like Sofia in the play, he did not appear till after the battle. On the eleventh or twelfth he preſented himſelf to the Commune, and under *his* auſpices all the orders for arreſting the citizens were iſſued;—that orders had been given for arreſting Roland and Briſſot, which, by the care of ſome of their friends, had not been executed;—that a band of men had arrogated to themſelves the honour of the Revolution of Auguſt, whereas the maſſacres of September only belonged to them."—Here Talien and ſome others of Robeſpierre's faction, who were alſo of the General Council, began to murmur; on

which a member called out—Silence, les bleſſés! and Louvet reſumed, with great animation—" Yes, barbarians! to you belong the horrid maſſacres of September, which you now impute to the citizens of Paris. The citizens of Paris were all preſent at the Tuileries on the tenth of Auguſt, but who were witneſſes to the murders in September? Two, or perhaps three hundred ſpectators, whom an incomprehenſible curioſity had drawn before the priſons. But it is aſked, Why then did not the citizens prevent them? Becauſe they were ſtruck with terror; the alarm guns had been fired, the tocſin had ſounded; becauſe their ears were impoſed on by falſe rumours; becauſe their eyes were aſtoniſhed at the ſight of municipal officers, dreſſed in ſcarfs, preſiding at the executions; becauſe Roland exclaimed in vain; becauſe Danton, the Miniſter of Juſtice, was ſilent; and becauſe Santerre, the Commander of the National Guards, remained inactive. Soon after

after theſe lamentable ſcenes," continued Louvet, " the Legiſlative Aſſembly was frequently calumniated, inſulted, and even threatened, by this inſolent demagogue."

Here Louvet being interrupted by the exclamations of Robeſpierre's adherents, La Croix went up to the tribune, and declared, that one evening, while he was Preſident of the Legiſlative Aſſembly, but not in the chair, Robeſpierre, at the head of a deputation of the General Council, came to the bar with a particular petition, which Lacroix oppoſed, and the Aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day; that having retired to the extremity of the hall, Robeſpierre ſaid to him, that if the Legiſlative Aſſembly would not with good will do what he required, he would force them to do it by the ſound of the tocſin; on which Lacroix ſaid, he had taken his ſeat as Preſident, and related to the Aſſembly what had paſſed.

Other members bore teſtimony of Robeſpierre's

pierre's having pronounced the threat, and they confirmed the truth of all that Lacroix had related. One added, that Lacroix's friends had entreated him not to return to his own houſe that evening, by the Terrace of the Feuillans, becauſe aſſaſſins were poſted there to murder him.

This interlude excited freſh indignation againſt Robeſpierre, who made ſome efforts to be heard from the tribune. One of the members obſerved, that a man accuſed of ſuch a crime ought not to place himſelf in the tribune, but at the bar.

Robeſpierre perſiſted; but the Aſſembly decided, that he ſhould not be heard till Louvet had finiſhed.

"The Legiſlative Aſſembly," ſaid Louvet, reſuming the very ſentence at which he had been interrupted, "was calumniated, inſulted, and menaced by this inſolent demagogue, who, with eternal proſcriptions in his mouth, accuſed ſome of the moſt de-

ſerving repreſentatives of the people with having ſold the nation to Brunſwick, and accuſed them the day before the aſſaſſinations began: in his bloody proſcriptions all the new miniſters were included except one, and that one always the ſame. Will it be in thy power, Danton," continued Louvet, darting his eyes on the late Miniſter of Juſtice, "to juſtify thy character to poſterity for that exception? Do not expect to blind us now by diſavowing Marat, that *enfant perdu de l'aſſaſſinat*: it was through your influence, by your harangues at the Electoral Aſſemblies, in which you blackened Prieſtley, and white-waſhed Marat, that he is now of this Convention. Upon that occaſion I demanded leave to ſpeak againſt ſuch a candidate: as I retired, I was ſurrounded by thoſe men, with bludgeons and ſabres, with whom the future Dictator was always accompanied: thoſe body guards of Robeſpierre, during the period of the maſſacres, often looked at

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me with threatening countenances, and one of them ſaid, *It will be your turn ſoon.*"

Louvet added, that he accuſed Robeſpierre of having calumniated ſome of the moſt meritorious citizens of the Republic; of having accuſed them unjuſtly, at a time when accuſation was proſcription; of having inſulted and menaced the National Aſſembly; of having domineered over, and by intrigue and terror influenced, the elections of the Electoral Aſſemblies of Paris; and of having attempted the ſupreme power. He demanded that a committee might be appointed to examine into his conduct.

He then ſaid that he accuſed another man who had, to the aſtoniſhment of all France, been introduced among them by the former, of whom he was the tool. Several voices called out, Marat! Louvet concluded by ſaying, that he hoped they would alſo pronounce a decree againſt all thoſe monſters who inſtigate to murder and aſſaſſina-

nation, againſt a faction which from perſonal ambition was tearing the Republic in pieces; and that they would alſo decree that the Executive Power, in caſes of commotion, might call upon all the military force in the department of Paris, and order it to act for the reſtoration of tranquillity in the manner it judged expedient.

Robeſpierre aſcended the tribune as ſoon as Louvet had finiſhed.

The Aſſembly ſeemed unwilling to hear him: ſome propoſed that the diſcuſſion ſhould be poſtponed till next day, and that then Robeſpierre ſhould be heard at the bar. Louvet moved that he ſhould be heard immediately. Robeſpierre declared that he did not intend to make his anſwer then, but deſired that the 5th of November might be appointed for that purpoſe.—This attack of Louvet, and the debate which followed, took place ſeveral days ago. Louvet was greatly admired for the firmneſs of his be-

haviour, and the acuteneſs of ſome of his remarks.

Robeſpierre was thrown into ſuch confuſion, that he did not fully recover his ſpirits and recollection afterwards. The effect of eloquence on an aſſembly of Frenchmen is violent and inſtantaneous: the indignation which Louvet's ſpeech raiſed againſt Robeſpierre was prodigious; at ſome particular parts I thought his perſon in danger. I fancy the demand of ſo long an interval before he ſhould make his defence, was ſuggeſted by Danton, or ſome other of his friends; it was a prudent meaſure, had he attempted to anſwer immediately, he muſt have loſt his cauſe: all his eloquence and addreſs could not at that time have effaced the ſtrong impreſſion which Louvet had made.

Although he drew the attack on himſelf by his imprudent boaſting, yet he was taken unprepared: the galleries in particular had been neglected on that day, for the audience

ſhewed no partiality—a thing ſo unuſual when he ſpoke, that it is believed to have helped greatly to diſconcert him.

November 5.

Two or three days after the ſcene above deſcribed, Roland wrote to the Convention, that a late addreſs of the Commune of Paris, which had *not* been ordered by the Convention to be printed, or tranſmitted to the departments, had nevertheleſs been incloſed in covers directed and franked by the Mayor of Paris, and put into the poſt-office: that he had ordered them to be ſtopped, becauſe the Convention had diſapproved of the addreſs, and becauſe he believed the name of Petion on the covers to be forged.

Petion immediately roſe, and declared that he knew nothing of the intention of tranſmitting the addreſs to the departments, and had franked none of the covers.

This letter from Roland produced a

warm debate, which ſerved only to animate the two parties more violently againſt each other; one accuſing the Commune of a low and factious manœuvre, in endeavouring to circulate an addreſs diſapproved of by the Convention, and which is of a pernicious tendency; the other accuſing the Miniſter of a deſpotic and illegal act in wounding public confidence, by arreſting the courſe of correſpondence.

Like all debates in a numerous aſſembly, where the paſſions are inflamed, it ſoon deviated from the object on which it began, and extended to other ſubjects of recrimination; during which Barbaroux of Marſeilles, who had been prevented from ſpeaking on the day on which Louvet accuſed Robeſpierre, made a very ſpirited harangue againſt the latter and his partiſans. It was nearly to the ſame purpoſe with that of Louvet, but more correct and conciſe: its objects were to remove all jealouſy of the

Marſeillois, to urge the neceſſity of an armed force to protect the Convention from the brutality of the mob, and to increaſe the ſuſpicions of the ambitious views of Robeſpierre.

He began by aſking "if the repreſentatives of twenty-five millions of men were to bend their heads to thirty factious perſons,"

"The inhabitants of the South are accuſed of having projected a federal republic." continued Barbaroux; "yet we, their repreſentatives, declare, that they have inſtructed us to oppoſe every project of that nature. I call on Marat to riſe and prove that ever there was ſuch a project, or to own himſelf to be a calumniator."

"The friends of Roland are accuſed of wiſhing to domineer by means of the armed force which is requiſite to maintain the independence of the Convention: I undertake to prove, when that queſtion comes regularly before us, that this is rendered impoſſible by the very manner

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in which that force is propoſed to be eſtabliſhed. It is not to be formed of Swiſs guards, but of French citizens from the eighty-three departments.

" Thoſe agitators," continued Barbaroux, " who for villanous purpoſes wiſh to ſpread anarchy over the nation, have the audacity to ſay *they* brought on the revolution of Auguſt, and by that falſehood try to make us forget their project of a Dictator, their numerous robberies and their horrid murders in September; but they never can be forgotten; nor ſhall I ceaſe to act againſt that faction, till the murderers are puniſhed, the effects reſtored, and the dictators thrown from the rock.

" What," continued Barbaroux, " can more plainly demonſtrate the ambitious projects of thoſe men, than that which has already been mentioned in the Convention; namely, that immediately before the 10th of Auguſt, Robeſpierre invited Rebecqui and

and me to his houſe? He ſpoke to us of the neceſſity of our rallying all our force under ſome man who enjoyed great popularity; and Panis, as we took our leave, named Robeſpierre as the propereſt man for being Dictator. And Robeſpierre himſelf propoſed in the committee of twenty-one, that the Council General of the Commune ſhould be authoriſed to form itſelf at once into a jury of accuſation, a jury of judgment, and a tribunal for applying the law. Let it be remembered that he himſelf had the chief influence in the General Council. And finally," ſaid Barbaroux, "this very man, on another occaſion, eager to obtain a decree, came to the bar of the National Aſſembly, and threatened the repreſentatives of the nation to make the tocſin be ſounded, if they did not form one as he thought proper to dictate."

This diſcourſe, while it increaſed the indignation already kindled againſt Robeſpierre, muſt alſo tend to make his adherents more

more zealous to defend him:—it is their own cauſe:—when the murderers of the priſoners, and the embezzlers of goods are threatened, many members of the Convention, and more of the General Council, muſt be in a ſtate of ſevere alarm. And ſeverely will this alarm be avenged if theſe men ſhould ever obtain the aſcendency in the Convention. On the 2d of September, they ſhewed what is to be expected from them when in power.

November 6.

Great inconveniency was found in the Convention, from the petitions which formerly were allowed to be preſented at all times. By a late decree, all petitions are ordered to be reſerved for Sunday, when, unleſs ſomething of great importance intervenes, the ſole buſineſs is to attend to them.

This renders it the leaſt intereſting day for attending the Convention. I went laſt Sunday, in company with an Engliſh gentleman, to St. Cloud. This was the ſummer reſidence

reſidence of the Orleans family from the time that *Monſieur*, brother to Lewis XIV. built the chateau, till lately.

From the houſe itſelf, as well as from many parts of the delicious park, there is an extenſive view comprehending Paris, all the villas around it, a rich landſcape of hills, woods and meadows, through which the Seine flows in many graceful windings. The caſcade is greatly admired, and the park has been conſidered as the happieſt effort of the genius of Le Noſtre, who has made a delightful uſe of all the variety of ſurface it contains, as well as of the Seine which flows by it.—St. Cloud, in the opinion of many, was preferable to any of the royal villas before it became one of them: it was purchaſed by the Queen from the Duke of Orleans about five or ſix years ago, ſince which time, the apartments within the chateau have been altered at a great expence, and much improved. Nothing can be

be conceived more commodious. Notwithſtanding the richneſs and magnificence of ſome of the apartments, this palace, with all its ſplendid furniture, has remained hitherto undeſpoiled and unſullied.

The contraſt between the magnificence we were beholding, and the wretched apartment in which the perſon for whom that magnificence was prepared is confined, naturally preſented itſelf to our minds. This idea, with that of the various aggravating circumſtances which attend her confinement, made us contemplate the ſplendour of St. Cloud through a very gloomy medium. The whole manner of the man who conducted us through the apartments, ſufficiently evinced that his thoughts ſprang from the ſame ſource, and flowed in the ſame channel with ours.

Thoſe who have had the curioſity to viſit the houſes of princes and villas of nobility, may have remarked with what oſtentation

and

and pride the houſe-keeper and ſervants conduct ſtrangers through magnificent apartments: they enjoy the admiration of the viſitors, and ſwell with ſelf-importance in proportion to the richneſs of the furniture. They are not, however, more groſsly miſtaken than thoſe proprietors, who, deriving all their importance from the ſame quarter, think it amounts to a great deal.

Nothing of this kind, but all that is oppoſite, appeared in the demeanour of the man who attended us through the palace of St. Cloud: his mind evidently borrowed no pride from the magnificence he had under his care, but ſeemed rather to be engroſſed with the ſad fate of the owners, and the ſolicitudes

——— laqueata circum tecta volantes.

The annals of the unfortunate do not record any ſituation more dreadful than that of the unhappy Queen of France.

Any

Any woman in her ſituation would be exceedingly miſerable; but we cannot help thinking that ſhe muſt be more miſerable than any other woman in the ſame ſituation.

The diſtance at which her rank ſeemed to have placed her from the reach of the miſery which now ſurrounds and threatens to overwhelm her, renders her ſufferings more acute. This circumſtance, independent of any abſurd prejudice in favour of rank, muſt increaſe the ſympathy of every feeling heart. Although ſhe is the daughter of an Empreſs, the ſiſter of Emperors, and the wife of a King who was lately conſidered the moſt powerful in Europe, ſhe ſeems now more pre-eminent in wretchedneſs than ever ſhe was in rank and ſplendor.

She was not only a queen, but is a beautiful woman; not only accuſtomed to the intereſted and oſtentatious ſubmiſſion that attends power, but to that more pleaſing atten-

tion

tion and obedience which are paid to beauty. Fortune accompanied her friendſhip, and happineſs her ſmiles. She found her wiſhes anticipated, and ſaw her very looks obeyed.—How painful muſt now be the dreadful reverſe! Shut up in a priſon, ſurrounded with barbarians, wretches who rejoice in her calamity and inſult her ſorrow, with what affecting propriety might this unfortunate Queen adopt the pathetic complaint of Job! "He hath fenced up my way that I cannot paſs, and he hath ſet darkneſs in my paths.

"He hath ſtripped me of my glory, and taken the crown from my head.

"He hath deſtroyed me on every ſide, and I am gone: and mine hope hath he removed like a tree.

"He hath put my brethren far from me.

"My kinsfolk have failed, and my friends have forgotten me."

What has this moſt unfortunate of women already ſuffered? what is yet reſerved

for

for her to endure? She has been ſhocked by the cruel murder of many of her ſervants and friends, ſome of them for no other reaſon than their fidelity to her. She now ſuffers all the agonies of ſuſpenſe—her heart throbbing from recent wounds, and her mind terrified, not for her own fate only, but for thoſe of her ſiſter, her huſband, and her children.—No; the annals of the unfortunate do not record, nor has the imagination of the tragic poet invented, any thing more dreadfully affecting than the misfortunes and ſufferings of Marie Antoinette queen of France; and for ages to come, her name will never be pronounced unaccompanied with execrations againſt the unmanly and unrelenting wretches who have treated her, and ſuffered her to be treated, in the manner ſhe has been.

November 7.

From St. Cloud we wiſhed to drive to

Mont Calvaire, but found part of the road impaſſable for a carriage, and were obliged to return and go directly to Paris.—It ſeems very ſtrange, that a road between a royal palace and a neighbouring hill to which there is ſo great a reſort from other places ſhould be in this ſtate. The day was one of the fineſt I ever ſaw. On coming to the barrier, immediately before we entered Paris, a waggon ſtood acroſs the road, which ſtopped our carriage: the coachman had ſome words with the waggoner, who was drinking with ſome ſans-culottes. He ſeemed in no hurry to move his waggon out of the way, notwithſtanding the repeated requeſts of our coachman, who, after a little altercation, loſt his temper ſo far as to make uſe of the term *canaille*, which has ſuch an ariſtocratic ſound, that it alarmed me. I inſtantly and very loudly rebuked the coachman; which pleaſed the audience ſo much, that

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they removed the waggon, and we paſſed unmoleſted to Paris.

I was the more alarmed at this expreſſion, on account of a ſcene which I had been witneſs to in the gallery of the National Aſſembly. A man dreſſed like a gentleman had a diſpute with two perſons of a poor appearance: he called them *canaille*, which drew the ſevereſt of all repartees from one of them, namely, that he was an ariſtocrate. The people around took part againſt the accuſed perſon, who tried in vain to refute the charge; they would not liſten, but obliged him to leave the gallery.

A gentleman who had entered with him was very near being reduced to the ſame neceſſity. One addreſſed him in an angry tone, ſaying, "The people are not to be treated in the inſolent manner your friend did, Sir."

To which the other anſwered with mildneſs, "Il n'eſt pas probable, Monſieur, que

j'aie la moindre intention d'inſulter le peuple, puiſque j'ai l'honneur d'en faire partie*."

November 8.

On the day on which Robeſpierre made his defence, the galleries of the Conventional Aſſembly were crowded at an early hour; but having an order from the Preſident for the box of the Logographe, I was admitted at the uſual time.

There was not ſo great a crowd of the populace at the entry to the Aſſembly, as I have ſometimes ſeen; but thoſe who were there expreſſed their partiality for him, and diſlike to his accuſers. On the terrace of the Feuillans, the groups were moſtly formed of his partiſans: one fellow accompanied by two or three others carried tripe on a pole, which they ſwore they would force thoſe to eat, who ſhould vote againſt ſo diſtinguiſhed a patriot.

* It is not probable that I ſhould have any intention to inſult the people, ſince I have the honour to be one of them.

Imme-

Immediately before Robeſpierre aſcended the tribune, a deputy complained that the galleries were unfairly filled; that certain privileged perſons, chiefly women, had been introduced for the purpoſe of applauding, while all the impartial citizens were kept out: "Des citoyennes," he exclaimed, "ſont à la porte des tribunes, tandis que d'autres porteuſes de cartes privilégiées ſont facilement entrées*."

This obſervation occaſioned an univerſal laugh, and every body turned their eyes to the galleries, which were almoſt entirely filled with women. Robeſpierre's eloquence is ſaid to be peculiarly admired by the ſex; and it has been remarked, that on the nights when he was expected to ſpeak at the Jacobins the proportion of females in the galleries was always greater than uſual.

* Some female citizens are kept at the door, while other females with privileged tickets are ſeated in the tribunes.

When Robeſpierre appeared in the tribune, it was evident that he had entirely recovered his ſpirits, and he certainly made a much better figure than he did when he was laſt there.

"I am accuſed," ſaid he, "of having aimed at the ſupreme power. If ſuch a ſcheme is criminal, it muſt be allowed to be ſtill more bold. To ſucceed, I muſt have been able not only to overthrow the throne, but alſo to annihilate the legiſlature, and above all, to prevent its being replaced by a National Convention. But, in reality, I myſelf was the firſt who, in my public diſcourſes and writings, propoſed a National Convention as the only means of ſaving the country. To arrive at the dictatorſhip, to render myſelf maſter of Paris, was not ſufficient; I muſt alſo have been able to ſubdue the other eighty-two departments. Where were my treaſures? where were my armies? what ſtrongly fortified places had I ſecured? All

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the riches and power of the ſtate were in the hands of my enemies. In ſuch circumſtances, to make it credible that I had ſuch a ſcheme, my accuſers muſt demonſtrate that I am a complete madman."

" Ce n'eſt pas la l'embarras*," ſaid one of the deputies near me to thoſe around him.

" And when they have made that point clear," continued Robeſpierre, " I cannot conceive what they will gain by it, for then it will remain for them to prove that a madman can be dangerous in a ſtate."

" Bah!" ſaid the deputy who had already ſpoken, " ils ſont les plus redoutables †."

Robeſpierre denied having ever had much connection with Marat, and he explained by what means he had been induced to have the little which he avowed; and he aſſerted, that Marat had not been choſen to the Convention from *his* recommendation, nor per-

* That would not be difficult.

† They are the moſt dangerous.

haps from any high opinion which the electors had of that Deputy, but from their hatred to the ariſtocrates, whoſe mortal enemy they knew Marat to be.

"I am accuſed," continued Robeſpierre, of having exerciſed the deſpotiſm of opinion in the Jacobin Society. That kind of deſpotiſm over the minds of a ſociety of freemen could only be acquired and obtained by reaſoning. I find nothing therefore to bluſh for in this accuſation. Nothing can be more flattering to me than the good opinion of the Jacobins, eſpecially as Lewis XVI. and Monſ. de la Fayette have both found that the opinion of the Jacobins is the opinion of all France. But now, that ſociety, as Louvet pretends, is not what it was, it has degenerated; and perhaps, after having accuſed me, his next ſtep will be to demand the proſcription of the Jacobins. We ſhall then ſee whether he will be more perſuaſive and more ſucceſsful than Leopold and La Fayette,

"Louvet

"Louvet next tries to vilify the General Council of the Commune; thoſe men who, choſen by the ſections, aſſembled in the Town Houſe on that awful night when the conſpiracy of the Court was ready to burſt forth; thoſe men who directed the movements of that inſurrection which ſaved the ſtate; who diſconcerted the meaſures of the traitors in the Tuileries, by arreſting the Commander of the National Guards, who had given orders to the leaders of battalions to allow the people to paſs towards the Carouſel, and then attack them in the rear: thoſe patriots are of too much energy of character to be eſteemed by the ſlaves of monarchy; but it is not in the power of calumny and impoſture to preclude the heroic ſervice they were of to the Republic from the records of hiſtory.

"They are accuſed," continued he, "of arreſting men contrary to the forms of law. Was it expected, then, that we were to accompliſh

compliſh a revolution in the government with the code of the laws in our hands? Was it not becauſe the laws were impotent, that the Revolution was abſolutely neceſſary? —Why are we not accuſed alſo of having diſarmed ſuſpected citizens, and of excluding from the aſſemblies which deliberate on the public ſafety, all known enemies of the Revolution? Why do you not bring accuſations againſt the Electoral Aſſemblies and the Primary Aſſemblies? they have all done acts, during this criſis, which are *illegal*, as illegal as the overthrowing of the Baſtille, as illegal as Liberty itſelf.

"When the Roman conſul had ſuppreſſed the conſpiracy of Catiline, Clodius accuſed him of having violated the laws. The Conſul's defence was, that he had ſaved the Republic.

"We are accuſed of ſending Commiſſioners to various departments.—What! is it imagined that the Revolution was to be com-

pleted by a ſimple coup de main, and ſeizing the Caſtle of the Tuileries? Was it not neceſſary to communicate to all France that ſalutary commotion which had electrified Paris?

" What ſpecies of perſecution is this, which converts into crimes the very efforts by which we broke our chains? At this rate, what people will ever be able to ſhake off the yoke of deſpotiſm? The people of a large country cannot act together; the Tyrant can only be ſtruck by thoſe who are near him. How is it to be expected that they will venture to attack him, if thoſe citizens who come from the diſtant parts of the nation ſhall, after the victory, make them reſponſible by law for the means they uſed to ſave their country? The friends of freedom, who aſſembled at Paris in the month of Auguſt, did their beſt for general liberty. You muſt approve or diſavow their whole conduct taken together, and cannot, in candour, examine

amine into partial diſorders, which have ever been inſeparable from great revolutions. The people of France, who have choſen you as their delegates, have ratified all that happened in bringing about the Revolution. Your being now aſſembled here is a proof of this: you are not ſent to this Convention as Juſtices of the Peace, but as Legiſlators; you are not delegated to look with inquiſitorial eyes into every circumſtance of that inſurrection which has given liberty to France, but to cement by wiſe laws that fabric of freedom which France has obtained —Poſterity will pay attention to nothing in thoſe events but their ſacred cauſe, and their ſublime effect."

Robeſpierre denied however having any connection with the ſlaughter of the priſoners, which, he aſſerted, was entirely owing to the indignation of the public for M. Montmorin's being acquitted by the Criminal Tribunal, the eſcape of the Prince de Poix

and

and other people of importance, joined to the emotion occaſioned by the taking of Longwy. In this part of his defence he ſeems to have copied from a pamphlet written by Tallien, entitled, *La Verité ſur les Evénemens du 2 Septembre* *, in which is hardly a word of truth.

Robeſpierre then added (and it required a moſt determined firmneſs of front to add this), "I am told that *one innocent* perſon periſhed among the priſoners, ſome ſay more; but one is without doubt too much. Citizens, it is very natural to ſhed tears on ſuch an accident. I have wept bitterly myſelf for this fatal miſtake. I am even ſorry that the other priſoners, though they all deſerved death by the law, ſhould have fallen ſacrifices to the irregular *juſtice* of the people. But do not let us exhauſt our tears on them; let us keep a few for ten thouſand patriots

* The real Truth reſpecting the Events of the 2d of September.

ſacrificed by the tyrants around us; weep for your fellow-citizens, expiring under their roofs, beat down by the cannon of thoſe tyrants: let us reſerve a few tears for the children of our friends maſſacred before their eyes, and their infants ſtabbed in the arms of their mothers, by the mercenary barbarians who invade our country.—I acknowledge that I greatly ſuſpect that kind of ſenſibility which is only ſhewn in lamenting the death of the enemies of freedom. On hearing thoſe pathetic lamentations for Lamballe and Montmorin, I think I hear the manifeſto of Brunſwick. Ceaſe to unfold the bloody robe of the tyrant before the eyes of the people, otherwiſe I ſhall believe you wiſh to throw Rome back again into ſlavery. Admirable humanity! which tends to enſlave the nation, and manifeſts a barbarous deſire of ſhedding the blood of the beſt patriots!"

Robeſpierre, having finiſhed his ſpeech, came

came down from the tribune, amidſt the applauſe of the galleries, and of part of the Convention.

Louvet took his place, and declared, that he was ready to refute every argument, or ſhadow of argument, that had been urged in his defence. The uproar prevented his proceeding: ſome called for the printing of Robeſpierre's ſpeech — others declaimed againſt it—there was a great confuſion for ſome time—the queſtion was at laſt put, and the printing decreed.

Merlin of Thionville ſaid, that Roland had diſperſed 15,000 copies of Louvet's accuſation: he therefore moved, that the ſame number of the defence ſhould be printed.

When a great debate is expected, thoſe members who intend to ſpeak give their names to the Secretaries, and the Preſident calls them in the order in which the names have been given. Thirteen members gave their names on this occaſion: three declared

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they intended to ſpeak in defence of Robeſpierre, five againſt him, and five on the ſubject in general. This formidable number of ſpeakers, and the known tediouſneſs of ſome of them, appeared ſo awful, that the Aſſembly became diſpoſed to preclude the diſcuſſion. Barrere propoſed to cloſe it immediately. Barbaroux was ſo eager to be heard, that, when refuſed as a member, he preſented himſelf at the bar as an accuſer. Couthon and other friends of Robeſpierre exclaimed againſt this, and inſiſted on the buſineſs being ſtifled, by paſſing to the order of the day.

Barbaroux retired from the bar, and Louvet attempted to ſpeak—he could not be heard.

One member remarked that, if Robeſpierre felt himſelf innocent, he would deſire that his adverſaries ſhould be heard.

Barrere at laſt aſcended the tribune, and immediately there appeared a diſpoſition in the

the Aſſembly to hear him, he was conſidered as an impartial man, who belonged to neither party. His ſpeech ſeemed to have been prepared: the tendency of it was to ſhew that accuſations and recriminations only ſerved to irritate individuals, and injure the intereſt of the public; that the time of the Convention was due to the nation, and ought not to be engroſſed by deliberations on the crimes or virtues of one or two perſons. "It is time," ſaid he, "to eſtimate thoſe little undertakers of revolutions at their juſt value; it is time to give over thinking of them and their manœuvres: for my part, I can ſee neither Syllas nor Cromwells in men of ſuch moderate capacities; and inſtead of beſtowing any more time on them and their intrigues, we ought to turn our attention to the great queſtions which intereſt the Republic."

He then moved to paſs to the order of the day; which, after ſome further debate,

was agreed to; ſeveral members who had ſhewn great eagerneſs to proceed with ſeverity againſt Robeſpierre immediately after Louvet's accuſation, having, during the interval, either been gained by his friends, or influenced by their own reflections, that it was beſt to give up a meaſure, which, however proper in itſelf, ſeemed inexpedient in the preſent ſtate of men's minds. Some of them think that, if Robeſpierre were ordered to be arreſted, it would occaſion an inſurrection, and that an attempt to puniſh the authors of the maſſacres would occaſion their renewal.

Thus this buſineſs ended in a kind of drawn battle, which is perhaps the worſt end it could have for the intereſt of the Republic; for the parties remain too nearly equal in force, and likely to ruin the common intereſt by their mutual animoſity.

November 9.

An account of Louvet's ſpeech againſt

Robeſpierre was given the ſame night at the Jacobin Society; it excited great indignation. What is ſuppoſed to have provoked ſome of the members moſt, was the propoſal to examine into the ſource of the maſſacres, and to puniſh the authors. This, however, could not be avowed; they affected therefore to feel only for the attack on Robeſpierre, which was denominated by various ſpeakers a conſpiracy againſt patriotiſm itſelf, by a ſet of men of ariſtocratic principles, who were in the pay of Roland.

The names of Louvet, Rebecqui, and Barbaroux, were ſtill on their liſts as members of this Society: it was propoſed to expel them, and the vote was carried.

Robeſpierre himſelf was not in the Society, but his brother was. He made a ſpeech on the occaſion, in which he declared, that he had been often afraid, during Louvet's ſpeech, that ſome members of the Convention would have ſtabbed his brother; that

he had heard one of them ſwear that he was determined on it. There was an outcry immediately that he ſhould name the horrid wretch; but the brother of Robeſpierre acknowledged that *he did not* know his name.

The Convention's having paſſed to the order of the day after hearing Robeſpierre's defence, is conſidered by his friends as a victory: their triumph on that account is as great as their rage was at his accuſation, and they leave no means untried to inſpire the citizens with hatred to his enemies. Legendre and Tallien aſſerted lately in the Convention, that a party of the Marſeillois, with ſome dragoons of the Republic, had appeared with drawn ſwords in the ſtreets, crying, "Off with the head of Marat!" A bas la tête de Marat! and ſinging a ſong, the burden of which is,

Robeſpierre, Marat, Danton, et tous ceux
Qui s'en mêleront, à la guillotine, ô gué, &c.

Tallien

Tallien added, that theſe ſame *fédérés* had curſed theſe Deputies in a coffee-houſe on the Boulevards, and had cried, "Vive Roland! point de procès au Roi!"

It is true that ſome *fédérés* and dragoons, being in liquor, ſung the words above mentioned in the ſtreets: but the other article is without foundation, and added on purpoſe to throw odium on the Miniſter; for the moſt dangerous aſperſion that can be thrown out againſt any perſon at preſent, is, that he wiſhes to prevent the condemnation of the King.—In the mean time, Marat thinks proper to keep himſelf concealed; and an uncommon number of patrols have been remarked in the ſtreets, particularly near the dwellings of Robeſpierre and Danton, ever ſince Louvet's accuſation. Some people aſſert, that Santerre has given orders for this, merely to convey the notion that the lives of thoſe great patriots are in danger from the Marſeillois. Whether this is the caſe or not, I

 cannot

cannot tell; but I do obſerve, that thoſe who ſay they are in danger wiſh them to live, and thoſe who inſiſt upon it that they are quite ſafe would be very happy to hear of their death.

As for Santerre, whatever his motive may be for ordering thoſe patrols, it was well obſerved in one of the late journals, that if he had paid half the attention to protect the poor priſoners, that he now ſhews to guard Robeſpierre, there would have been no maſſacres in September.

November 10.

The Girondiſts affect to turn the triumph of Robeſpierre's friends into ridicule: they inſiſt upon it, that paſſing to the order of the day on an accuſation of the nature of that brought by Louvet againſt Robeſpierre, would be the moſt ſevere and humiliating of all mortifications to a man of good character and common feeling. Whatever truth there may be in that, it is evident that his party

party are in higher ſpirits, and have gained ſtrength ſince he made his defence. The friends of Roland certainly expected that Louvet's accuſation would have thrown ſuch an odium on Robeſpierre and all his adherents, as would have gone far to annihilate their influence in the Convention; inſtead of which, thoſe members who ſpoke with horror of his conduct before, mention it with caution and moderation now.—Barrere, by alluding to him with contempt as a dictator, has removed part of the indignation that prevailed againſt him; and in moving the order of the day he rendered a very important ſervice to Robeſpierre, and did what was highly agreeable to Danton, who had done every thing he could, from the beginning, to prevent any ſcrutiny from being made relative either to the conduct of Robeſpierre, or the murder of the priſoners. I am perſuaded, therefore, that Barrere thinks Roland's party, notwith-

ſtanding the majority which on ſome queſtions they may ſtill have in the Convention, is on the whole the weaker of the two, and that he means to attach himſelf to that of Danton.

Condorcet, however, judges otherwiſe; for his conduct, which ſome time ſince was thought doubtful, now plainly indicates a decided preference of the Girondiſts.

M. Condorcet very ſeldom ſpeaks in the Conventional Aſſembly: in a public paper under his direction he delivers his political ſentiments with more effect than he could by ſpeaking: in this he has of late directed ſuch ſtrokes of ridicule againſt Robeſpierre, as no man would do who wiſhed to keep on good terms with him.

In the Chronique de Paris of yeſterday is the following curious article, which I ſhall inſert, becauſe it ſhews M. Condorcet's idea of a man who has made ſo much noiſe in this country, particularly of late.

" Il

" Il y a, dans la Révolution Françaiſe, des hommes et des événemens qui n'y font un certain bruit paſſager, que parceque la turbulence nationale groſſit et gonfle tout, et qu'il y a peu d'obſervateurs tranquilles. Ces petits hommes et ces petits faits ne tiendront que quatre lignes dans l'hiſtoire.

" Une de ces circonſtances de huit jours, c'eſt l'accuſation intentée contre Robeſpierre, par un homme de beaucoup d'eſprit et de talent, mais qui a beaucoup plus d'imagination encore. L'accuſateur et l'accuſé ont été tous les deux entendus, et tous les deux ont prouvé qu'il étoit impoſſible de faire de Robeſpierre un Dictateur.

" Tout le monde a remarqué que l'on avoit amené beaucoup de femmes à la ſéance : les tribunes en contenoient ſept ou huit cents, et deux cents hommes tout au plus, et les paſſages étoient obſtrués de femmes.

" On demande quelquefois pourquoi tant de femmes à la ſuite de Robeſpierre, chez lui,

à la

à la tribune des Jacobins, aux Cordeliers, à la Convention? C'eſt que la Révolution Françaiſe eſt une religion, et que Robeſpierre y fait une ſecte: c'eſt un prêtre qui a des dévôtes; mais il eſt évident que toute ſa puiſſance eſt en quenouille. Robeſpierre prêche, Robeſpierre cenſure; il eſt furieux, grave, mélancholique, exalté à froid, ſuivi dans ſes penſées et dans ſa conduite; il tonne contre les riches et les grands; il vit de peu, et ne connoît pas les beſoins phyſiques; il n'a qu'une ſeule miſſion, c'eſt de parler, et il parle preſque toujours.—Il refuſe les places où il pourroit ſervir le peuple, et choiſit les poſtes où il croit pouvoir le gouverner; il paroit quand il peut faire ſenſation, il diſparoit quand la ſcéne eſt remplie par d'autres; il a tous les caracteres, non pas d'un chef de religion, mais d'un chef de ſecte; il ſe fait une réputation d'auſtérité qui viſe à la ſainteté; il monte ſur des bancs; il parle de Dieu et de la Providence;

il

il ſe dit l'ami des pauvres et des foibles ; il ſe fait ſuivre par les femmes ; il reçoit gravement leurs adorations et leurs hommages ; il diſparoit avant le danger, et l'on ne voit que lui quand le danger eſt paſſé. Robeſpierre eſt un prêtre, et ne ſera jamais que cela*."

Bazire,

* In the French Revolution certain men and certain events have made a temporary noiſe, only becauſe national turbulence ſwells and enlarges every thing, and becauſe there are but few cool obſervers. Thoſe little men, and thoſe unimportant events will not employ four lines of hiſtory.

One of thoſe incidents of a week is the accuſation of Robeſpierre, by a man of great underſtanding and talents, but whoſe imagination is more extenſive than either. The accuſer and the accuſed have both been heard, and both have proved that it is impoſſible to make a Dictator of Robeſpierre.

Every body remarked that a great many women had been brought to the galleries of the National Aſſembly when Robeſpierre made his defence ; among ſeven or eight hundred which the galleries contain, there were at the moſt two hundred men, and all the paſſages were filled with women.

November 11.

Bazire, one of the deputies for the department of the Côte d'Or, and ſtrongly attached to the party of Robeſpierre, made a report lately

It is ſometimes aſked, how it happens that ſuch numbers of women are continually attending Robeſpierre wherever he is, at his own houſe, at the galleries of the Jacobins, of the Cordeliers, and of the Convention?

It is becauſe the French Revolution is conſidered as a religion, of which Robeſpierre is the leader of a ſect. He is a prieſt who has devotees, but it is evident that all his power is *en quenouille**. Robeſpierre preaches, Robeſpierre cenſures; he is furious, grave, melancholic, affectedly exalted, followed in his opinions, and in his conduct; he thunders againſt the rich and the great; he lives on little, is moderate in his natural appetites; his chief miſſion is to ſpeak, and he ſpeaks continually. He refuſes thoſe offices in which he might be of ſervice to the people, and chooſes thoſe in which he expects to govern them; he appears where he can make a figure, and diſappears when the ſcene is occupied by

* This expreſſion is uſed in the ancient French chronicles relative to the ſucceſſion of the crown, to declare that women are excluded, *la couronne en France ne tombe jamais en quenouille.* It is now applied in other caſes, and here implies that Robeſpierre's power is chiefly over women.

others;

lately from the Committee of General Safety on the preſent ſtate of the city of Paris.

In this he repreſented Paris as in great tranquillity—with a view, no doubt, to prove that the armed force which has been ſo often required for the ſecurity of the Convention is not neceſſary.

He endeavoured to juſtify in a great meaſure the maſſacres of the priſoners in September, and afterwards made one of the moſt improbable aſſertions that ever was imagined, namely, that ſome ſervants of a lady of the court (it was imagined he meant Madame

others; he has all the characteriſtics, not of the leader of a religion, but of the leader of a ſect; he attempts to eſtabliſh a reputation of auſterity which points to ſanctity; he mounts on forms, and talks of God and of Providence; he calls himſelf the friend of the poor and of the weak; he makes himſelf be followed by women, and gravely accepts of their homage and admiration; he retires before danger, and nobody is ſo conſpicuous as he when the danger is over.' Robeſpierre is a prieſt, and never can be any thing more.

de

de Lamballe) began the aſſaſſinations, with a view to ſave their miſtreſs. His words are: "Je dois dire cependant, qu'il eſt prouvé que les domeſtiques d'une femme célébre à la cour ſe déguiſèrent en ſans-culottes; s'armèrent de piques et de tranchans, ſe portèrent aux priſons, et les premiers égorgèrent des priſonniers avec des marques de fureur aſſez atroces, et des propos aſſez violens, pour acquérir quelque crédit dans la foule, et ſauver par ce moyen leur maitreſſe.

"Voilà quels furent les premiers auteurs de ces maſſacres!

"Celui des priſonniers d'Orléans s'eſt fait particulièrement par des gens attachés au ſervice de la Reine; reconnus à la tête de l'attroupement de Verſailles *."

And he added, that as he was in the Committee of Surveillance during theſe ſcenes,

* I muſt declare, however, that it has been proved that

ſcenes, he knew ſome important facts relating to them, which it would be improper to reveal at preſent, but which he would publiſh perhaps at ſome futur eperiod†.

Bazire terminated his diſcourſe by blaming

that the ſervants of a lady of the court diſguiſed themſelves like ſans-culottes, and, being armed with pikes and other deadly weapons, went to the priſons, and joined in the maſſacres of the priſoners with ſuch fury as they imagined would gain credit with the populace, and enable them to ſave their miſtreſs.

Thoſe men were the firſt authors of the maſſacres.

As for the maſſacre of the Orleans priſoners, that was chiefly executed by men in the ſervice of the Queen, who are known to have put themſelves at the head of the band of aſſaſſins at Verſailles.

† When I heard Bazire pronounce this, I conſidered it as entirely falſe; but I have been ſince aſſured, from good authority, that ſome ſervants of Madame de Lamballe and of the Princeſſe de Tarente, particularly the valet-de-chambre of the latter, actually joined the mob that ſurrounded the priſon of La Force, and, by adopting the furious language of the mob, endeavoured to gain ſo much credit as would enable them to ſave their miſtreſſes. But theſe ſervants in no other way joined with the aſſaſſins; and the plan, which certainly was

ing the conduct of thoſe who were continually mentioning theſe ſcenes in September, which, he inſinuated, had been of more ſervice to the conſolidating of the Revolution than at firſt ſight might appear; and he adviſed all parties to forget their former differences, wave all idea of accuſations on the account of the ſcenes in September, and unite in mutual confidence and friendſhip for the public welfare.

While Bazire was in this manner preaching peace and tranquillity, the Aſſembly was in an uproar, and the actions and exclamations of the members indicated fury and deadly hatred.

Some called out for printing and diſperſing the report, others oppoſed it.

At laſt St. André, formerly a calviniſt

was formed on the moſt generous motives, did ſucceed with regard to Madame de Tarente.

The aſſertion reſpecting the Queen's ſervants at Verſailles is without any foundation.

miniſter,

miniſter, now a deputy for the department du Lot, one of the moſt violent partiſans of Robeſpierre, made a ſpeech, the tendency of which was to prove the utility of printing and diſperſing the report; which would ſhew the good people how unanimous the Convention was; that all former ſeeds of diſſenſion were now blaſted; that there was no appearance of diſtruſt or accuſation; and would remove the error in which the departments were, in believing there was any need of a guard for the Convention, where mutual confidence, freedom of opinion, and tranquillity reigned.

The falſehood of theſe repreſentations, which were delivered in a canting hypocritical tone, were ſo well known to the Aſſembly, that they produced a laugh; after which Buzot ſaid, "I ſhould be glad to ſee real union founded on mutual eſteem eſtabliſhed among us; but there can be neither eſteem nor union between the heroes of the 10th of Au-

guſt and the aſſaſſins of September; there can be no union between virtue and vice."

At this phraſe, murmurs were heard.

"I deſpiſe theſe murmurs," reſumed Buzot; "I am as little enriched by the maſſacres as by the civil liſt. I conſider Bazire's report as an apology for the maſſacres, and entirely falſe, and I oppoſe its being printed."

Buzot's ſpeech prevented Bazire's report from being printed; but the debate on this occaſion augmented that hatred and animoſity which before was too violent between the two parties. The Girondiſts in general have expreſſed ſuch a determination of proſecuting the authors of the maſſacres, and have ſhewn ſuch contempt for the underſtanding of their opponents, as ſeems to have kindled mortal hatred, and an implacable thirſt of revenge in the breaſts of the latter.

November 12.

An event has taken place which has raiſed the

the ſpirits of the Convention, before too lofty, to the higheſt pitch of exaltation.

I was in the Aſſembly when letters were received from Dumourier with an account of a victory obtained by him at Jemmappe, which was followed by the ſurrender of Mons to the French troops. An aid-de-camp of the General ſtood at the bar. After the letters had been read, he addreſſed the Convention to this effect:

" Citizens Repreſentatives,

" I am a ſoldier, and no orator; but I will inform you of one memorable thing of which I was witneſs on that day. Baptiſte, valet-de-chambre to General Dumourier, rallied ſome ſquadrons in the midſt of the battle, put himſelf at their head, led them again to the enemy, and ſeized, ſword in hand, a poſt of importance."

One of the ſecretaries then read a paſſage from a letter of the General to the War Miniſter, in which he recommends Baptiſte,

confirms the account which the aid-de-camp had given of his gallant behaviour in the action, with this additional circumſtance—that when Dumourier offered a pecuniary recompenſe to Baptiſte, the latter declared that he deſired no other reward than that of being permitted to wear the national uniform.

Baptiſte was brought to the bar, and in the midſt of loud and repeated applauſe it was decreed, "That the citizen Baptiſte, who had rallied a regiment of dragoons, and four battalions of volunteers, at the battle near Mons, ſhould receive the fraternal kiſs of the Preſident of the Convention; that he ſhould be clothed and armed at the expence of the Republic; and that the Miniſter at War ſhould authoriſe General Dumourier to give him a commiſſion in his army."

A variety of letters were then read relative to Dumourier's operations before the battle, and until his making himſelf maſter of Mons; in which the officers who had

moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves were mentioned, many of whom were ſeverely wounded: one officer in particular of the Gendarmerie Nationale, received one-and-forty wounds with ſabres, after having killed ſeven of the enemy with his own hand. Dumourier alſo highly praiſes young General Egalité for his intrepid and ſkilful conduct, and Lieutenant-colonel Larue his aid-de-camp, with whom he ſends the diſpatches.

Monſieur Egalité himſelf, who had never before ventured to ſpeak in the Aſſembly, thought this a favourable moment for him to appear in the tribune: he ſaid that he wiſhed to communicate to the Convention what General Dumourier's modeſty had prevented him from mentioning; namely, that he had perſonally led on the troops who had taken ſeveral redoubts ſword in hand.

Cambon ſaid, "As many citizens may be

near death in the various provinces of France, I require, that extraordinary couriers may be immediately ſent to all the departments, that our dying countrymen may enjoy the comfort of being acquainted with the triumph of the Republic before they expire."

Jean Debry propoſed that the ſixth of November, on which the victory of Jemmappe was gained, ſhould be appointed as a day of annual rejoicing.

Laſource oppoſed this. "Let us wait," ſaid he, "until the triumph of Liberty is complete, by the defeat of all the tyrants at war with us; let us not by partial diſtinctions create jealouſy in the other armies of the Republic: remember the ſucceſs of Cuſtine, and the 20th of September, which does ſo much honour to Kellermann."

"Let us decree no national rejoicing," ſaid Barrere, "when ſo many men have periſhed. The ancients, after their victories, appointed

appointed funeral ceremonies only. Tyrants order rejoicings, although their ſubjects have periſhed. Shall republicans imitate the unfeeling joy of tyrants? You ordained with propriety a public rejoicing for the conqueſt of Savoy, becauſe it coſt no blood. Here 4000 men have periſhed; the Auſtrians are men; 300* French have likewiſe periſhed, and yet you talk of rejoicing!"

But Vergniaud, with a diſcernment ſuperior to ſuch unnatural and affected ſentiments, ſaid, "Undoubtedly men have periſhed, but the cauſe of freedom is triumphant. Let us beware of metaphyſical abſtractions; the love of glory, of our country and of liberty are natural to man; and we, as legiſlators, ought to cheriſh thoſe generous ſentiments in the hearts of our countrymen.

* It cannot be believed that this account of the killed and wounded is juſt. Private letters from the army ſtate a much greater number of the French among the ſlain.

Wretched is the philoſophy which damps them! If ſuch ſentiments had not glowed in the breaſts of Frenchmen, where ſhould we now have been? where our armies? where our victories? One way to keep this ſacred fire alive, is public rejoicings on ſuch occaſions as the preſent. Let a national feaſt, therefore, be decreed for the ſucceſs of all our armies. To a funeral oration's being pronounced on the ſame occaſion I give my conſent; but that a national feaſt be decreed, I demand."

The feaſt was decreed.

Baptiſte, who had withdrawn immediately after the decree had paſſed in his favour, now appeared again at the bar, dreſſed in the uniform of the National Guards: he is a handſome and genteel young man. The aid-de-camp, who had remained at the bar while the other was withdrawn, threw his arms around his neck and embraced him

the

the inſtant he appeared. The hall reſounded with reiterated applauſe.

" Brave citizen," ſaid the Preſident, " enter within the ſanctuary of law; the legiſlators are impatient to have one who deſerves ſo well of his country, ſeated among them; they are impatient till you receive the recompenſe due to your intrepidity."

Baptiſte and Lieutenant-colonel Larue entered into the Aſſembly; the former was led up to the tribune, where the Preſident ſaluted him, and preſented him with a ſword as the gift of his country. How exquiſite muſt have been the ſenſations of this young man at that moment! the mere idea of them was delightfully affecting. When a gentleman diſtinguiſhes himſelf by any noble action, he attracts praiſe and admiration, although we preſume that he has had honourable ſentiments inculcated into his mind from his infancy; but when one born in the loweſt rank, who has not received the advantage of education, and whoſe chief concern

cern for a conſiderable part of his life, probably, was to ward off the miſery of want, and ſecure daily bread, diſplays a mind ſuperior to every ſordid conſideration, and capable of the moſt generous effort—ſuch a man aſſuredly is an object of ſtill greater admiration.

November 13.

The battalion of Marſeillois and ſome fédérés from other departments, now at Paris, give uneaſineſs to the party of Danton and Robeſpierre, in ſpite of their influence in the General Council and in the ſuburbs: they find that Roland is ſupported by a majority in the Convention: they fear that this will continue to be the caſe as long as the Marſeillois and fédérés remain in the capital. Their preſence damps the energy of the patriots of St. Antoine, and prevents Danton from reaping the full benefit of their attachment. Great pains have been taken to render the Marſeillois odious, and excite a jealouſy

louſy of them in the minds of the ſuburb ſans-culottes. It was expected that, confiding in their numbers, the latter would have driven the ſtrangers out of Paris; but the very name of Marſeillois keeps the ſuburb patriots in check; and although the courage of the former has not been put to the proof ſince their arrival at Paris, that of their townſmen, to which the ſans-culottes were witneſſes on the 10th of Auguſt, impreſſes their minds with an awful reſpect for the ſmall band from the ſame town, now at the capital.

As it was found difficult to drive them out of Paris by force, a plan was formed to get rid of them by policy.

Pache has been War Miniſter ever ſince Servan was appointed to the command of the army on the frontiers next to Spain. He owed his ſituation entirely to the recommendation of Roland; but Danton and Robeſpierre have had the addreſs to convince him that he will have the beſt chance of retaining

ing it, by attaching himſelf to them, and Pache like many others, being more influenced by the favours he expects than by thoſe he has already received, is ſuppoſed to have entered into their views.

Cuſtine lately made a requiſition of reinforcements for his army: Pache informed the Military Committee of this, and at the ſame time hinted that it would be proper to ſend all the fédérés now at Paris, as part of the reinforcement. This plan had the better chance of ſucceeding, as the firſt ſuggeſtion came from Pache, a man ſuppoſed to be the friend of Roland, and as none of the principal members of Danton's party ſeemed to intereſt themſelves in it.

It was no ſooner mentioned in the Convention, however, than Buzot ſaw through the whole ſcheme, and unfolded it at full length, as an intrigue to expoſe the Convention to the moſt mortifying of all ſituations, and ſubject them to the inſolence of a

faction which had the direction of the inhabitants of two of the ſuburbs.

Barbaroux alſo repreſented it as an abominable conſpiracy, which, if carried into execution, might expoſe the lives of many of the Deputies, and end in the pillage of Paris: he inſiſted that the *fédérés* could not be of ſo much ſervice to their country any where as at the capital, where they were ever ready to join with the moſt reſpectable citizens in defence of the legiſlative body, and for the protection of property.

Cambon being ſtruck with the obſervations made by Buzot and Barbaroux, and with the recollection of ſome ſcenes that had been acted immediately after the tenth of Auguſt, aſcended the tribune with a precipitation, and raiſed his voice to a pitch that ſurpriſed the Aſſembly, and commanded their attention. He put them in mind of the tyrannical manner in which the laſt

Aſſembly

Aſſembly had been treated by thoſe men who had the direction of the Fauxbourgs, and by that General Council who on the tenth of Auguſt had ſeized the government, and inſulted the Repreſentatives of the Nation. He aſked if they had forgotten that thoſe uſurpers had ordered the barriers to be ſhut, the tocſin to be ſounded; that they had threatened the members; and that when the Swiſs who had reſigned their arms were placed within the walls of the Aſſembly, and under the ſafeguard of the public faith, a gang of blood-thirſty ruffians had come to the doors of the Aſſembly-hall, and demanded that they ſhould be delivered up to their ſavage rage; that thoſe furious men were on the point of burſting into the Aſſembly, and dragging them out to be ſlaughtered; and that they were not turned from their purpoſe till Lacroix and ſome other deputies begged of them *upon*

their knees not to proceed to ſo horrid an outrage *!

"Would you be again ſubjected to the ſame tyranny?" continued Cambon. "If ſo, order the *fédérés* to leave Paris before an armed force is decreed and eſtabliſhed for the protection of the Convention; put yourſelves again in the power of thoſe whoſe deſpotiſm you have experienced—the very tyrants who enſlaved the Legiſlative Aſſembly; and ſoon, in the midſt of anarchy and civil war, the French Cromwell will appear, and tell you that he will be your Protector, and give you peace; that you ſtand in need of his popularity and deſpotiſm to render you happy. But no; we will have no Protector, no King, no Triumvirs, no Tribunes, we will be free; for which purpoſe, let us ſecure the independency of the National

* Although I was in the National Aſſembly when this happened, I was ignorant of it at that time, and therefore it is not inſerted in the Journal; but Lacroix, on the preſent occaſion, confirmed the truth of Cambon's aſſertion.

Aſſembly,

Aſſembly, and on no pretext allow the *fédérés* to be removed from Paris till an organized force is formed from all the departments of the Republic, which can prevent the Repreſentatives from being under the influence of one department only."

Cambon pronounced this with great fire and energy, which ſeemed to proceed entirely from the ſtrong conviction he felt of the importance of his ſubject; and which had the greater effect, as his uſual ſtyle of ſpeaking is uncommonly cold and unintereſting. His manner is awkward, and his countenance dull. He is of a methodical, calculating turn of mind, and conſidered as their beſt financier. I have frequently heard him ſpeak before; and generally when he began, I heard it obſerved—"Now we ſhall have ſomething worth hearing; this is a man of admirable good ſenſe;" but I always found his good ſenſe ſo exceſſively tireſome, that I never could liſten

liſten to it long. But on this occaſion he commanded all my attention, and his diſcourſe made a ſtrong impreſſion on the Aſſembly; it is believed to have contributed more than all that had been previouſly ſaid, to the failure of the plan which had been very artfully arranged for ſending away the *fédérés*.

The importance put on ſuch a queſtion as this, ſhews how very looſe and unſettled the affairs of this country are; and that in whoſe hands the government is to remain, depends more on the ſans-culottes of two or three of the ſuburbs of Paris, and a handful of determined fellows from Marſeilles, than on the unbiaſſed will of the Conventional Aſſembly.

Roland and the Girondiſts ſeem to be in ſomething of the ſame ſituation that the Court was in a little before the tenth of Auguſt. The party of Danton and Robeſpierre are as earneſt for the deſtruction of

the firſt, as ever they were for that of the ſecond; and they ſeem preparing to attempt it by the ſame means.

The Court a little before that epoch had the majority of the National Aſſembly with them—Roland's party have the majority of the Convention with them at preſent.

The Court had a battalion of Swiſs and a band of gentlemen to protect them. The Girondiſts have a battalion of men from Marſeilles and ſome *fédérés* from other departments for their guards: whether theſe laſt will prove more ſucceſsful than the Swiſs is yet to be tried. In the mean time it is evident that each party is more afraid of the other, than either is of all their external enemies.

November 14.

Some days ago I ſaw the following article in the Chronique de Paris:

"Lorſque Louis a été conduit au Temple, il

n'avoit pas le ſols ; le citoyen Pétion lui prêté deux mille livres. Voici ſon billet :

"Le Roi reconnoit avoir reçu de M. Pétion la ſomme de 2526 liv. y compris 526 liv. que MM. les Commiſſaires de la Municipalité ſe ſont chargés de remettre à M. Hue, qui les avoit avancés pour le ſervice du Roi.

Paris, ce 3 Septembre

1792. (Signé) Louis*."

I had the curioſity to ſhew this to a perſon whom I knew to be of Petion's acquaintance, aſking him, at the ſame time, if he believed it.

* When Lewis was conducted to the Temple, he had not a penny; Citizen Petion lent him two thouſand livres—here follows his receipt:

The King acknowledges having received from M. Petion the ſum of 2526 livres, 526 livres of which the Commiſſioners of the Municipality are to pay to M. Hue, who had advanced them for the ſervice of the King.

Paris, this 3d of Sept. 1792. (Signed) Louis.

He ſaid he could not tell whether it was true or not, but that he would inform me of ſomething to the ſame purpoſe, which I might depend upon was true. He then told me, that, having ſome buſineſs with the Mayor, he had waited on him on the 31ſt of Auguſt; that while he was with him a letter was delivered to the Mayor, which having read he threw careleſsly on the table, and ſaid to the ſervant, *Very well.* He then turned to my acquaintance, and converſed with him on the buſineſs which had brought him there; and afterwards, as he happened to have his eyes fixed on the letter, which lay open on the table, the Mayor ſaid, You may read it, if you pleaſe. —It was from the King, and what follows is a literal tranſlation:

"The King would be glad that Mr. Petion gave an anſwer to the letter written to him five days ago--this is the laſt day of the month, and he has received no money to defray his ex-

pences:

[redacted]nces: the King will be obliged to Mr. Pe-
ion, if he will let him know what he is to
eceive, and ſend him an anſwer to-day.

(Signed) LOUIS."

Counterſigned by two other names.

The patience with which the King has endured every hardſhip which preſſed on himſelf alone, gives reaſon to believe that he has been prevailed on to write on this ſubject from a conſideration for others; it is probable that the firſt letter was written by ſome attendant, and that this not having been anſwered, the King has been under the neceſſity of writing the ſecond himſelf.

That either was neceſſary is abominable, and betrays real meanneſs of ſpirit in thoſe who are affecting grandeur of mind and a manner of thinking ſuperior to vulgar prejudices.

November 15.

It is difficult to be informed of the treat-

ment which the Royal Family are ſubjected to in the Temple. Many circumſtances of a public nature, however, indicate, that it is indelicate and harſh in the higheſt degree.

A Committee appointed by the General Council of the Commune of Paris ſit there conſtantly, and, accordingto directions given, regulate every thing reſpecting the Royal Family.

As they have been more cloſely confined of late, and not ſeen by the Guards which do duty at the Temple, a report was ſpread that the King had eſcaped, although the ſame number of men as uſual continued to mount guard: it was ſaid, that this was done merely to deceive the people, till ſome excuſe could be thought of to avert the public indignation from the Committee for their negligence or treachery. Full of this idea, a body of men from the Sections of Paris, who were on guard at the Temple, inſiſted upon ſeeing the King and Royal Family, that

that they might be ſatisfied themſelves, and enabled to ſatisfy their fellow citizens, that the King actually was in the Temple, and that they were not guarding empty apartments, as was ſtrongly ſuſpected.

The Municipal Officers refuſed to comply with this demand; the guard inſiſted, and threatened to force their way into the apartments. Santerre was ſent for: he expoſtulated with thoſe mutineers, and aſſured them, that all the family were ſafe in the priſon. This at length ſatisfied the volunteers from the Sections; but the cannoniers perſiſted in their demand, and Santerre was under the neceſſity of appealing to the multitude aſſembled at the gates of the Temple, who in character of Peuple Souverain decided againſt the cannoniers, and they were obliged to give up the point.

The Municipal Committee, to whoſe care the Royal Family are peculiarly entruſted, have made frequent reports to the General

Council, in which they pretend, that there ſeems to be a plan of delivering them from the Temple—and the ſmalleſt accidental circumſtances which occur are conſidered as ſignals from without, which are fully underſtood by the priſoners within.—Mention has been made in thoſe returns to the General Council, of a man's being heard playing on a flute at midnight, of the ſongs that are ſung in the ſtreet, the expreſſions uſed by the common criers that paſs; and it is inſinuated that by all theſe, more is meant than meets the ear. Some time ſince, the Committee repreſented, that when the family walked in the garden, or appeared on the balcony, a number of perſons came to the windows of the adjacent houſes, and made ſignals, which ſeemed to be underſtood by the priſoners.—One Member of the Council propoſed, that, to prevent this laſt, the King and Royal Family ſhould never be permitted to come into the open air, till it

was ſo dark that they could not to be ſeen; another propoſed to raiſe the walls in the garden, and make ſuch alterations in the Temple as would effectually prevent the priſoners from being ſeen by any perſon without.

Both theſe ingenious propoſals were rendered unneceſſary by an order from the Council, that all the family ſhould be prevented from walking in the garden, or even appearing at the windows of their apartments; and when they aſſemble at the hour of dinner, which is always in the preſence of one or two Municipal Officers, every look, word, or geſture of the unhappy priſoners is obſerved, interpreted, and frequently reported to the Council General as having a myſterious meaning.

Among other circumſtances equally unimportant, it was mentioned in one of the memorials of the Committee, made a conſiderable time ago, that the King continued to wear his ſtar and ribbons, which raiſed the

petulance

petulance of the author of a daily journal, who, on the ſubject of this memorial, expreſſes himſelf in the following indecent terms: "Si Louis avoit le ſens commun, il auroit quitté lui-même toutes ces chamarrures féodales: il ſeroit aujourd'hui Republicain, c'eſt à-dire, plus qu'un Roi; car un Roi n'eſt que le premier eſclave de ſon empire*."—He then adds, that, ſo far from ſtripping him of them, it would be better, provided the nation allows him to live, to condemn him to wear thoſe ſhameful emblems for life; and propoſes that all who ſhould be convicted of certain crimes ſhould be ſentenced to the ſame puniſhment—and concludes: "Qu'on les expoſât aux regards du peuple bardés de cordons, et l'habit garni d'aigles, de pigeons, d'éléphans, de moutons; les Romains ne

* If Lewis had common ſenſe, he would of his own accord have thrown aſide all thoſe feudal trappings; he would by this time have become a Republican, which is being greater than a King; for a King is only the higheſt ſlave in his own dominions.

dépouilloient

dépouilloient pas les rois vaincus des attributs de la royauté; ils les en revêtoient au contraire avec grand ſoin, et cela pour cracher deſſus*."

The Council General however ſaw this in a different point of view. Eager to diſplay a contempt for ariſtocracy, and conſtantly aſſerting that the people in general deteſt monarchy, they cannot help often betraying a dread of the firſt, and a ſuſpicion that the nation ſtill retains its old affection for the ſecond—they ſeem afraid of every thing that puts them in mind of either. Manuel was ordered to go to the Temple, and announce to the King, that as royalty was aboliſhed, there was no propriety in his wearing his former ornaments any longer. The dialogue which paſſed between the

* Let them be expoſed to the view of the people covered with ribbons, and their clothes trimmed with pigeons, elephants, eagles and ſheep; the Romans did not ſtrip the vanquiſhed Kings of the emblems of royalty. On the contrary, they carefully dreſſed them in them for the purpoſe of ſpitting on them.

King

King and Manuel on this occaſion, has been publiſhed in ſome of the Journals, probably by Manuel himſelf; even from this account it appears, that the King received this meſſage with that manly indifference, and undiſturbed reſignation, which he has ſhewn ſince the beginning of his misfortunes. I have always heard that Lewis XVI. never was much affected by the magnificence of royalty, even when he poſſeſſed it in its higheſt ſplendour; he ſeems now to be as little affected by the loſs of it; and the malice of his enemies, diſplayed in theſe paltry inſtances, inſtead of throwing diſgrace on the Monarch, renders his good qualities more conſpicuous.

November 16.

In a work publiſhed ſome years ago*, I endeavoured to give an idea of that enthuſiaſtic attachment and affection, which the

* View of Society and Manners in France, &c.

French

French of thoſe days had, or pretended to have, for their Monarchs.

They ſpoke of loyalty as a quality of the mind, like generoſity or courage: they ſeemed proud to think that they poſſeſſed this quality, if not excluſively, at leaſt in a higher degree than any other people; and every Frenchman wiſhed to be thought loyal, as every man wiſhes to be thought generous or brave. They ſeemed even to conſider it as a virtue, which ought to be cheriſhed in the breaſt of the ſubject, independent of the good qualities, and in ſpite of the bad qualities, of the Sovereign; and they were vain to point out to ſtrangers how far their countrymen ſurpaſſed all others in the exerciſe of it.

An Engliſh officer, after having paſſed ſome days at Verſailles during the reign of Lewis XV. ſupped in company with ſeveral French Gentlemen on the evening that he returned to Paris. The converſation turned

on the great attachment and affection of the French nation to their monarchs; and one of the company underſtanding that the court had been greatly crowded, and that many people of diſtinction from Paris had been at Verſailles during the officer's reſidence there, aſked him if he had not been ſurpriſed at ſeeing ſuch marks of loyalty.

"No," replied the officer, "I ſhould have been ſurpriſed if I had not ſeen them."

"To be ſure," reſumed the Frenchman, "the King is the moſt amiable man in the world, and it is quite natural that all the world ſhould love him."

"That is indiſputable," ſaid the officer; "but I was thinking of other reaſons which thoſe I ſaw ſo aſſiduouſly paying their court to the King might have, and which are ſufficient to account for all the zeal and attachment they diſplayed."

The other affected not to underſtand

him, and aſked with great politeneſs what other reaſons they could have.

" Why," replied the officer, " has not the King governments, and regiments, and biſhopricks, and many other very beneficial things to beſtow ? I ſhould imagine that this conſideration might render the King an object of great attention, and produce many marks of zealous attachment to his perſon, even although he were not quite the moſt amiable man in the world, as all the world allow him to be."

" Be aſſured, Sir," rejoined the Frenchman, " that there is no people on earth who have ſuch a veneration for their Kings, and ſo much diſintereſted loyalty as the French."

" Forgive me," ſaid the officer, " I know a people who can diſpute thoſe qualifications with them, and whoſe courtiers give ſtronger proofs of veneration and loyalty to their Prince than even thoſe of Verſailles."

" What people ?"

" The

"The ſubjects of the Emperor of Morocco," replied the officer: "there is a monarch for you, gentlemen, who hardly ever ſpeaks to his ſubjects *qu'à coup de ſabre*, and yet they venerate him in the moſt aſtoniſhing manner. When I was in garriſon at Gibraltar, I paſſed over to his dominions, and had the honour of ſpending ſome time at his court at Fez: one of this beloved monarch's morning amuſements, is ſhooting arrows at his ſubjects; when he chances to miſs, which ſeldom happens, for by frequent practice he is an excellent markſman, the perſon at whom it is directed takes up the arrow, and with all the zeal of the moſt devoted courtier preſents it on his knee to the Emperor.

"On ſome occaſions, he does his ſubjects the honour of cutting off their heads with his own hands, and is much praiſed by the courtiers around for his dexterity; in ſhort, they diſplay every mark of attachment to his

perſon

perſon, and may be ſaid with truth to love their ſovereign to diſtraction.—This is, gentlemen, what I call diſintereſted loyalty." But now the French, at leaſt all of them who remain in France, are as ſolicitous to declare that they never poſſeſſed this enthuſiaſtic loyalty, as formerly they were anxious to have it thought they did; and as they began to diſavow this principle during the reign of the moſt mild and moſt equitable monarch they ever had, as ſoon as his power began to be abridged, and continued to profeſs the moſt ardent loyalty towards the moſt oppreſſive and tyrannical of his predeceſſors while they retained their power, it is pretty clear on what that boaſted loyalty was founded.

But as the men ſhew an abject and ſlaviſh diſpoſition, who affect attachment and veneration for a fooliſh or wicked prince, ſo thoſe on the other hand betray a malevolent and odious character, who are deficient in reſpect and gratitude to a mild and equitable

monarch, who through the whole of his reign has manifeſted a love of juſtice, and an equal regard for the rights of his ſubjects and for his own prerogative.

The loyalty of a man of ſenſe and ſpirit ariſes from a due reſpect for the firſt magiſtrate in the ſtate, whoſe lawful authority he is ready to ſupport for the good of the community, independent of every other conſideration. To this ſentiment of loyalty to the monarch as firſt magiſtrate, eſteem for perſonal good qualities, if they exiſt, and gratitude for favours received, will be added in every well formed mind. But theſe ſentiments do not excluſively belong to loyalty, but are felt for every perſon of our acquaintance who poſſeſſes great or amiable qualities, and from whom we have received favours. But the oſtentatious indications of loyalty which are ſometimes exhibited, in the vulgar, generally proceed from a mere love of noiſe; in ſome of ſuperior rank, from the

the deſire of being looked on as the particular friends of the royal family, unconnected with any idea of their good qualities; and in many it is founded on a lucrative office in poſſeſſion or in expectation.

November 17.

At the beginning of the revolution, when a veneration for the chriſtian religion was ſtill pretty general in the minds of the people, a democratic abbé, with a view to inſpire his audience with a deteſtation for ariſtocrates, aſſured them in his ſermon that Jeſus Chriſt was crucified by the ariſtocrates of Jeruſalem.

Some people imagine that the ſame aſſertion made in a ſermon now, would not produce the ſame horror in the minds of a French audience that it did three years ago, being of opinion that religious impreſſions are much weaker now than they were then.

One diſtinguiſhing doctrine of chriſtia-

nity, namely, the forgiveneſs of injuries, ſeems to be greatly exploded, and conſidered rather as the effect of weakneſs than magnanimity: revenge, on the contrary, is applauded as a virtue, and proclaimed as a duty, and the people are ſtimulated to vengeance, on every real or ſuppoſed injury.

Thoſe who excite the populace againſt the King, tell them, that his execution is neceſſary, to *avenge* the murder of their brethren in the Carouſel on the 10th of Auguſt; and that the affairs of the nation cannot proſper, until their ſlaughter is amply *revenged.*

It was mentioned in the National Aſſembly, that ſome of thoſe patriots, while they lay expiring on the ground, had had the conſolation of ſeeing the Swiſs cut in pieces, before their eyes were entirely cloſed.

The new levies are aſſured by way of encouragement, that in caſe they ſhould be killed in battle, they may make themſelves perfectly

perfectly eaſy, for that their deaths ſhall be fully revenged.

A poor woman was weeping bitterly for the death of her ſon, killed at the battle of Valmy: the ſoldier who had brought her the news endeavoured to comfort her, ſaying, "Conſolez-vous, Marguerite, je vous reponds qu'il a été bien vengé *."

At the civic feaſt, which took place on account of the conqueſt of Savoy, a new ſtanza was added to the hymn of the Marſeillois, and was ſung by a company of young boys on that occaſion:

Nous entrerons dans la carrière,
Quand nos aînés n'y ſeront plus:
Nous y trouverons leur pouſſière
Et la trace de leurs vertus.
Bien moins jaloux de leur ſurvivre,
Que de partager leur cercueil,
Nous aurons le ſublime orgueil
De les *venger* ou de les ſuivre.
Aux armes, Citoyens!—Formez vos bataillons!
Marchez!—Qu'un ſang impur abreuve nos ſillons.

* Comfort yourſelf, Margaret, for I can aſſure you that he was well avenged.

I was at the Convention lately, when a young officer belonging to the regiment of Beaurepaire appeared at the bar.

He had been at Verdun when the Colonel ſhot himſelf: he ſpoke highly of that officer, by whom, he ſaid, the garriſon had been animated to ſuch a pitch of enthuſiaſm, that they had reſolved to be buried in the ruins of the town, rather than ſurrender: he gave an affecting account of the indignation and grief of the ſoldiers, when they found that the Magiſtrates had capitulated, and were told of the cataſtrophe of their Colonel: he ſaid, he was deputed from his regiment, to demand vengeance on the traitors who had betrayed Verdun to the enemy, and driven their Commander to deſpair. He read the names of thoſe he accuſed, conſiſting of the Magiſtrates of Verdun, and ſome of the Field Officers of the National Guards.

This young officer was handſome, and of a genteel figure: he ſpoke with fluency and

grace;

grace; and what intereſted the audience greatly in his favour, was, that a letter from Dumourier was read, which informed the Convention, that the regiment to which he belonged had behaved remarkably well againſt the Pruſſians; and that the officer who brought the accuſation had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very gallant manner.

Some of the Members began to talk of avenging the death of Beaurepaire on the heads of the perſons accuſed by the officer; and the Aſſembly ſeemed ſo much enraged againſt them, that I was afraid of their decreeing ſomething very violent inſtantly—but one Deputy, who had preſerved coolneſs in the midſt of all this emotion, ſhewed the impropriety of coming to any reſolution againſt the accuſed citizens, in the preſent ſtate of their minds, and begged that the accuſation might be referred to the conſideration of a Committee.

This meaſure was at laſt adopted,

November 18,

There are eight or ten theatres for dramatic entertainments of one kind or other at preſent in Paris: moſt of them are open four times a week. The pieces repreſented are generally new, and adapted to the ſpirit of the times, and to fortify the minds of the audience in ſentiments favourable to the Revolution. Kings and Princes are repreſented as rapacious, voluptuous, and tyrannical; Nobility as frivolous and unfeeling, fawning to the ſovereign, and inſolent to their fellow ſubjects; Prieſts as hypocritical, artful, and wicked. To inſpire a hatred to monarchical government, and a love of republicaniſm, is one great object of almoſt every new piece —even in thoſe comic pieces whoſe plots turn on an amorous intrigue, or ſome object equally remote from politics or forms of government, ſentiments of the ſame tendency occur, and however awkwardly introduced

duced they are ſure of being received with applauſe. A ſtrict adherence to the unities of time and place, and other critical rules, for which the French theatre was formerly diſtinguiſhed, is now little attended to.

The dramatic writers hate fetters, as much as the Sans Culottes, and ſometimes deſpiſe decorum as much.

I was lately at the Theatre de la Variété; the piece was entitled *La Mort de Beaurepaire,*

The hero, on hearing that the Magiſtrates of Verdun have delivered a gate of the town to the Pruſſians, ſhoots himſelf on the ſtage. The Duke of Brunſwick, ſurrounded by his guards, enters, and finds a French ſoldier lamenting over the body of his commander; while the Duke is queſtioning him, another French ſoldier is brought in, who has juſt ſhot a Pruſſian officer in the ſtreet. The Duke aſks, who bribed him to commit this aſſaſſination? The ſoldier replies,

" That he needed no bribe to determine him to deſtroy the enemies of his country; that he had no part in the infamous capitulation, by which the Pruſſians were permitted to enter Verdun; that he had miſtaken the officer he had killed, for the Duke himſelf, and highly regrets the miſtake."— The ſoldier in his turn demands of the Duke, " who had bribed *him* to invade a country which had renounced conqueſt, and to make war on a people, who wiſhed only to be governed by laws of their own making, under a form agreeable to their own taſte ?" The Duke makes ſome reply to this, and the diſpute becomes warm: but although the ſoldier is repreſented as having by much the beſt of the argument, he is ordered to immediate execution. It appears ſoon after, that on his way he has leaped over a bridge, and by that means eſcaped a more painful death. The firſt ſoldier concludes the piece, by aſſuring the Duke, that he will make nothing

of

of his preſent enterpriſe, which he had beſt relinquiſh in time; for *the ſhorteſt follies are the ſooneſt remedied.*

Many little dramas are daily exhibited on the Boulevards, to the ſame tendency, and ballads are ſung in the ſtreets and public walks: one is entitled, Comparaiſon du Régime Ancien avec le Nouveau; the laſt ſtanza is as follows:

Jadis, quand pour l'armée un fils partoit,
Sa bonne mere tout auſſi-tot pleuroit,
Et le retirer elle ne pouvoit;
C'étoit régime deſpote.
Aujourd'hui, l'on voit toutes les mamans
Faire le paquet, armer leurs enfans,
Et les envoyer ſervir dans les camps;
Vive un régime patriote.

The two following ſtanzas are from another, which is much reliſhed by the people:

Savez-vous la belle hiſtoire
De ces fameux Pruſſiens?
Ils marchoient à la victoire
Avec les Autrichiens;
Au lieu de palme de gloire
Ils ont cueilli des—raiſins.

Le Grand Frederic s'échappe,
Prenant le plus court chemin;
Mais Dumourier le ratrappe,
Et lui chante ce refrain:
N'allez plus mordre à la grappe
Dans la vigne du voiſin.

A writer in one of the Journals obſerves, that ſmall ſprings are capable of moving great machines; and that popular ballads have had conſiderable influence in the revolutions of nations;—he adds, "La chanſon des Marſeillois éclaire, inſpire, et réjouit à la fois. Je conclus à ce que l'on attache quatre chanteurs à chacune de nos armées. Faire notre Révolution en chantant, eſt un moyen preſque ſûr de l'empêcher de finir par de chanſons *."

What truth is in this obſervation, is not worth examining; but, if the termina-

* The Song of the Marſeillois at once enlightens, inſpires, and rejoices. I therefore move, that four good Singers ſhall be appointed to each of our armies. To accompliſh our Revolution with gaiety and good humour, is one ſure way to prevent its ending in a ſong.

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tion of the French Revolution depends on the good humour and humanity with which it has of late been carried on, it will have a diſmal ending.

November 19.

Marat has kept himſelf concealed for ſome time, but his Journal is continued as uſual. He dates it from a ſubterraneous habitation (d'un Soutetrain); in which, he ſays, he is obliged to bury himſelf alive, that he may be ſafe from the daggers of aſſaſſins. And why am I obliged to hide myſelf? he aſks of the people, to whom his Journal is addreſſed—" O peuple, que je chéris, que je porte dans mon cœur, pour avoir pris votre défence, pour avoir été votre ami, &c. &c.*"

It ſeems extraordinary, to addreſs the mob of Paris in the ſtyle of a lover to his miſtreſs; but it is ſtill more extraordinary, that a mob, who have given ſuch proofs of fe-

* O people, whom I love, who are always neareſt my heart, for having always been your friend and advocate.

rocity,

rocity, ſhould be deluded by the language which ſeduces a fond girl.

The general turn of his Journal, however, is not in the ſame tender ſtrain, even ſince he dated from below ground. The manner in which he vindicates himſelf from the accuſation of being ſanguinary, will be thought curious.

" Le grand cheval de bataille de mes détracteurs eſt de me peindre comme un homme ſanguinaire, qui eſt ſans ceſſe à prêcher le meurtre et l'aſſaſſinat. Mais je les défie de faire voir autre choſe dans mes écrits, ſi ce n'eſt pas que j'ai demontré la néceſſité d'abatre quelques centaines de têtes criminelles pour conſerver trois cent mille têtes innocentes*."

In his Journal of this day, is the following paragraph: " Je ne croirai pas à la Re-

* The great aim of my detractors is to paint me as a ſanguinary man, who is always preaching murder and aſſaſſination. But I defy them to point out any thing in my writings, unleſs that I have demonſtrated the neceſſity of cutting off a few hundred criminal heads to preſerve three hundred thouſand innocent ones.

publique, que lorſque la tête de Louis Capet ne ſera plus ſur ſes épaules, et que les ſoldats de la liberté ne ſeront plus menés à la boucherie par des généraux courtiſans *."

In the midſt of all the ſucceſs of Dumourier, this man exclaims againſt him for having permitted the Pruſſians to eſcape out of France; and he writes in the ſame ſtyle of the other Generals, whom he deſcribes as men of ariſtocratic principles, and enemies of the people; and adds whatever he thinks moſt likely to excite the populace againſt Louvet, Barbaroux, Genſonnet, Guadet, Buzot, Vergniaud, Kerſaint, and all the faction Rol-Briſſotine, as he denominates them. But what may lead to more extenſive miſchief than all the reſt is the drift of the motto of his Journal: " Ut redeat miſeris, abeat fortuna ſuperbis:" that is to ſay, " Take the money from the rich,

* I ſhall never think the Republic eſtabliſhed, until the head of Lewis Capet is no longer on his ſhoulders, and until the ſoldiers of Liberty ſhall be no longer led to ſlaughter by generals who are courtiers.

that

that it may be reſtored to the poor." This plainly prompts to univerſal pillage: and perhaps the wickedneſs of faction never was puſhed farther than in the protection given to ſuch an incendiary as this Marat; for, notwithſtanding all the public diſavowals that have been made, that he is powerfully protected ſeems to me evident. —He dates from a cellar, but every body believes he is now living at his eaſe in very good quarters, above ground; and nobody can doubt, but that it would be a very eaſy matter to diſcover them, if it were thought ſafe and prudent to ſeize the man. But they cannot even ſuppreſs his Journal; it is cried every night in the Palais Royal: a little boy came bawling after me with it, as I returned home a few nights ago, "Journal par Marat, l'Ami du Peuple!—combien voulez-vous, Citoyen Anglais? Journal par l'Ami du Peuple!—Ah, c'eſt bien intéreſſant aujourd'hui—vous prendrez deux ou trois, n'eſt-il pas vrai, mon cher Milor?"

November

November 20.

It is moſt unpleaſant to obſerve how little ſenſation the cruel ſtate in which the Royal Family is occaſions in Paris, and how ſmall a part of general converſation it occupies: as for the loweſt mob, they never mention them but with ſome foul epithet of abuſe: this does not ſurpriſe me, becauſe they are either hired for the purpoſe, or, like all mobs, join in the cry that is ſuggeſted, and preſs blindly on, according to the impulſe given by others; I ſpeak not therefore of them, but of the other ranks of ſociety.

Whatever people's ſentiments are with regard to the Revolution, whether they are what is here called Ariſtocrates, or Democrates, one ſhould think that ſo ſevere a reverſe of fortune, and one ſo unexampled in the political ſtate in which Europe has ſo long been, would occaſion more general ſympathy. That this ſympathy ſhould not

be diſplayed in public, is eaſily accounted for: but even in private and confidential converſations, where no reſerve is uſed on topics equally dangerous, the misfortunes of the Royal Family ſeem to be felt in a very ſlight manner, by ſome who might have been expected to feel them moſt ſeverely.

What an affecting contraſt does this indifference and neglect make with the obſequious attention, almoſt to adoration, which was paid to this family by the whole French nation; with the emulation and unwearied aſſiduity of all ranks to captivate their notice and gratify their wiſhes; with the proteſtations of eſteem, reſpect, and affection they have been accuſtomed to hear from their childhood!

All thoſe external marks of veneration were accompanied, no doubt, with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their being the offspring of genuine ſentimental preference, beſtowed on perſonal

ſonal virtues, uninfluenced by any expectation from their power, and purified from all ſelfiſh conſiderations.

The cannon of St. Antoine, and the ſabres of the Marſeillois, exterminated the virtues of the King on the 10th of Auguſt; and every day of his impriſonment in the Temple ſeems to have added ſome new article to a liſt of vices of which he is now accuſed, and which were never heard of before.—I never ſee a man in the Conventional Aſſembly, or elſewhere, eager to diſtinguiſh himſelf by violent ſallies againſt the King and his unfortunate family, but I imagine I behold a wretch who would be the moſt abject of his courtiers, if, by an unexpected turn of affairs, the Monarch were re-eſtabliſhed on the throne. Nor did I ever know any men, who were diſtinguiſhed for adopting the prejudices, abetting the caprices, and affecting wonderful attachment to the perſons of Princes in

the fulneſs of power, without ſuſpecting that they would be the moſt turbulent demagogues, and the bittereſt enemies of thoſe very Princes, if by any accident they ſhould ever be in the ſame ſituation with the Royal Family of France.

November 21.

When a man, who, from his ſituation in life, or from the commiſſion he enjoys, is guarded from retaliation, treats another, who is in his power, with inſolence or cruelty, it naturally excites feelings of indignation and contempt. When an inferior behaves with inſolence to his ſuperior, a blackguard, for example, to a gentleman in the ſtreets of London, it raiſes diſguſt, but not contempt as in the former inſtance, becauſe the blackguard *may* run ſome riſk—he is not abſolutely ſure of impunity.

It was natural to ſuppoſe, that the imprudent introduction of the term *égalité* would produce

produce an univerſal inſolence among the lower claſſes of people in France towards their ſuperiors: and I am ſtill convinced it will in proceſs of time be the caſe; but I confeſs I have not hitherto remarked any diſagreeable inſtance of this nature. No perſon, indeed, of whatever rank, is allowed to dreſs his footmen in livery, but every one is allowed to have as many footmen as he pleaſes; and when L. L's carriage was driving, a day or two ſince, in at the gate of the Louvre, it was ſtopped by the ſentinel, who had obſerved that the hammercloth had fringes of a different colour; and informed his Lordſhip, that ſuch a kind of diſtinction was no longer permitted in France, being contrary to that égalité which every Frenchman had ſworn to. The coachman had been ordered never to uſe any but a plain cloth; but, having a fringed one in his poſſeſſion of which he was very vain, he had ventured to

adorn his coach-box with it on this unfortunate day. As the poor fellow was taking it off with a very mortified air, the valet de place reproached him for having put it on; which the ſentinel overhearing, ſaid angrily to the coachman, "Il ſied bien à un gueux comme toi d'être ariſtocrate *."

A few days ſince I ſaw a man dreſſed in the uniform of a General Officer come up to a poor fellow, who, with a pike in his hand, ſtood ſentinel at a gate, and, addreſſing him by the name of "*Citoyen Soldat*," aſked him the way to a particular ſtreet.

The pike-men were formerly conſidered as of a rank inferior to the National Guards, who are armed with muſkets: but of late they are put on a footing, and do duty together; but ſtill it might have been expected, that this gentleman's rank in the army would have commanded the ſtrongeſt marks of reſpect from a common ſoldier,

* It well becomes a beggar like you to give yourſelf the airs of an ariſtocrate.

if

his laced coat failed to produce them in a poor fellow almoſt in rags.

" Tenez, mon camarade," ſaid the pike-man: " you will firſt turn to the right, and then walk ſtraight on until, &c."

The Officer having heard the directions returned thanks to the Citoyen Soldat, and, moving his hat, walked away.

November 22.

Some time ſince I was walking with a man, who has the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the National Guards:—ſeven or eight men belonging to his battalion came up to him with a complaint; they pretended that injuſtice had been done to their company, in the arrangements reſpecting the duty; and they alſo complained of ſome other grievances:—the perſon they had choſen to ſpeak for them ſeemed to be of rather a fiery temper; and he ſtated the grievances with more heat and leſs ceremony than I had been accuſtomed to ſee ſoldiers uſe when

addreſſing their officers.—The Lieutenant-Colonel on his part heard the complaints with attention and coolneſs; only ſaying, from time to time, as the orator proceeded, "Tu as raiſon, tu as raiſon, mon ami"—and gave no other interruption or anſwer, till he had quite finiſhed. The officer then began with the phraſe he had already uſed ſo frequently, "Tu as raiſon, mon ami, cela eſt clair; but there is one point in which you are a little miſtaken."

This one point turned out to be the whole affair in queſtion. The officer proceeded to put the buſineſs in a very different light; ſometimes addreſſing himſelf to the orator, and ſometimes to others of the circle; and in a ſhort time convinced the whole, that what they aſked was unreaſonable, and diſmiſſed them ſatisfied, and repeating "*Le Colonel a raiſon.*"

When they were gone, he ſaid to me ſmiling, "This is my conſtant method, when

they come with an unreaſonable requeſt: I hear them with patience; and after I have acknowledged two or three times that they are in the right, they allow me quietly to convince them that they are in the wrong: —whereas, were I to tell them at once they were in the wrong, they would think me unjuſt; but not that they themſelves were unreaſonable.

"When their complaint is well founded," continued the officer, "and in my power to remedy, there is no need of reaſoning; I get the grievance redreſſed as ſoon as poſſible, and am happy it is in my power."

"All this," ſaid I, "will do very well in civil life; but I ſhould hardly think it would anſwer in the military, where ſubordination and implicit obedience are ſo neceſſary."

To this the officer anſwered, "That men who clothe themſelves and ſerve without pay,

pay, cannot be treated with the ſame ſeverity as ſoldiers who are paid and clothed by the public; it is rather to be wondered at, that ſo many poor tradeſmen and day-labourers all over France ſubmit to loſe the profit of their work for one day, and ſometimes two, in a week, bear ſo much fatigue, and perform the military duty required of them, ſo cheerfully as they do. When thoſe men are ordered to the frontiers, and obliged to perform the duty of ſoldiers every day, they then receive pay, and are ſubjected to a ſeverer diſcipline."

"I cannot help thinking," reſumed I, "that a General, who commands ſoldiers who are taught to obey without thinking, has a great advantage over one whoſe army muſt be reaſoned with. The Duke of Brunſwick has only to iſſue his orders, and he is as ſure of being obeyed, as I am certain this watch will ſtrike when I preſs the ſpring," continued I, making the watch, which I held

held in my hand, repeat the hour; "whereas I underſtand, that Dumourier is often obliged to convince his ſoldiers *qu'il a raiſon*, before they will execute his orders."

"The temper and national character of the ſoldiers muſt be conſidered by the General who commands them," reſumed the officer: "Frenchmen would be diſpirited, rendered good for nothing, or would deſert, if they were treated with as much ſeverity as German and Ruſſian ſoldiers. I am of opinion, that the introduction of the puniſhment of the cane (coups des batons) was one reaſon of the defection of the army at the beginning of the revolution. I know that many regiments were quite diſguſted with that practice. The French and Germans are as different animals as greyhounds and fox-hounds; they accompliſh the deſtruction of their enemy by different endowments, and require a very different treatment."

"I do

" I do not wiſh to depreciate the merit of Dumourier," continued the officer; " but I muſt obſerve, that the diſadvantage you mention might be compenſated by that enthuſiaſm, which in the preſent emergency acts on the minds of French ſoldiers with an energy beyond the force of any mechanical ſpring. Beſides, you muſt recollect, that it has always been the cuſtom in France, to enliſt ſoldiers for three or four years only; for which reaſon, great numbers of young tradeſmen and labourers chooſe to go and ſerve during that time in the army; after which, they return to their trades and villages, where their adventures in the army are a ſource of converſation to themſelves, and of admiration to their wives and children for the reſt of their lives: and when the whole country is called forth as on the preſent occaſion, there are among the recruits of every department a conſiderable number of old ſoldiers, who not only inſtruct

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new men in the eſſential parts of the exerciſe, but alſo give them an example of regularity and obedience; ſo that the haſty levies with which Dumourier was reinforced at St. Menehould were not entirely raw recruits.

November 23.

In keeping this journal, my object was not to confine myſelf to the public events which take place in this country at this critical period, but to give alſo ſome idea of the effect which theſe events have on the manners and ſentiments of the people, which I imagine is better done by relating facts and incidents, than by general deſcription. With this view, I mention the following which occurred to an Engliſh gentleman and lady of my acquaintance: Hearing there was to be a debate on an important ſubject in the Convention, the gentleman hired two perſons to go early and keep places for them in the front of the gallery

lery oppoſite to the Preſident. The gentleman and lady went themſelves an hour after. A ſentinel who was placed within the gallery, told them there was no room. They ſaid that two perſons in the front would yield them their places, and the two perſons roſe accordingly and offered to withdraw; but the people in the gallery objected to the new comers taking their places, which, they ſaid, naturally belonged to thoſe who ſat neareſt. The Engliſhman appealed to the ſentinel: "Ma foi, citoyen," ſaid the ſentinel, "l'affaire eſt un peu épineuſe; you muſt let it be judged by the company."

This is the uſual way on all diſputes in the galleries; a jury is immediately formed of the people neareſt, who decide by the plurality of votes, and their verdict is always obeyed.

The Engliſhman then aſked of the company, whether the two perſons whom he had ſent to the gallery had not a right to

keep

keep their places. It was unanimouſly agreed that they had; but that, if they retired, the two who ſat neareſt them had a right to the places they left; and ſo every couple might advance in ſucceſſion, but thoſe who came laſt muſt be content with the worſt places, till new vacancies occurred. "But," reſumed the Engliſhman, "I have paid thoſe two men for keeping places for this lady and me, and that we ſhould have them is founded on juſtice."—"Mais non pas ſur l'*égalité*," ſaid one of the jury; to which opinion all the reſt adhered.

"You ſee, citizen," reſumed the ſentinel, "that the cauſe is given againſt you, and there is no more to be ſaid."

It is not ſurpriſing that this idea of equality is very favourably received by the loweſt order of ſociety, particularly according to the ſenſe in which many of them underſtand it; and I make no manner of doubt but that there are men of acknowledged dulneſs, and women decidedly ugly,

who

who would rejoice in a decree for an equality of genius and beauty, and who, to that variety in which nature delights, would prefer an inſipid monotony of talents and looks all over the world.—But until Nature ſhall iſſue ſuch a decree, the decrees of all the National Conventions on earth to eſtabliſh égalité will be vain. Were equality decreed by the univerſal conſent of mankind this year, there would be inequality of riches and importance all over the earth the next.

November 24.

As I walked to-day on the terrace of the Feuillans, which is contiguous to the hall of the National Aſſembly, I obſerved a young man ſtanding on a chair: at his ſide, there was a pike thruſt into the ground, on the upper end of which a ſmall board was fixed with this inſcription: *L'Apôtre de la Liberté.* A crowd ſurrounded him, to whom he harangued in praiſe of the glorious revolution of the 10th of Auguſt, and of the patriots to whom

whom France owed its liberty, which he aſſerted to be thoſe determined men who were on the preceding night appointed to be of the General Council of the Commune, and not the Briſſots, Vergniauds, Guadets, Buzots, and ſtill leſs Louvet the calumniator of Robeſpierre. He ſaid that all theſe men, with Roland at their head, were doing every thing they could to ſave the life of Louis Capet, the various inſtances of whoſe perjury he attempted to prove, as well as his ingratitude to the Nation, which had behaved ſo generouſly to him. "But," he added, "Lewis the traitor has now filled up the meaſure of his treachery ſo high, that even his friends in the aſſembly could not deny his guilt, though they were ſtriving with all their cunning to ſave his life."

This fellow was evidently hired to animate the populace againſt Roland and his friends, and make them conſider every attempt to poſtpone or evade the condemna-

tion of the King as a proof of their ariſto-cracy and treachery. No ſovereign that ever reigned has had more pains taken to miſlead and impoſe upon his judgment, than the Peuple Souverain who at preſent governs France; and being naturally of a thoughtleſs and giddy character, it is no wonder he falls into the ſnares which are ſo artfully laid for him.

November 25.

That ſpirit of hatred and accuſation which prevails in the Convention, has extended to the Generals of the armies, and ſeems to augment daily in this place.

Some weeks ago, Cuſtine, in a letter which was read in the aſſembly, accuſed Kellermann of negligence, or ſomething worſe, in having permitted the Pruſſians and Heſſians to eſcape out of France, and reach Coblentz.

He aſſerted, that if Kellermann had paſſed the Mozelle and the Sarre, he would have made

made himſelf maſter of Treves and Coblentz with little difficulty; and he referred to ſtatements which he ſent at the ſame time, to prove the truth of his accuſation.

The Commiſſioners who had been in Kellermann's army, and had ſeen the correſpondence between him and Cuſtine, declared that it would have been highly imprudent in the former, to have joined Cuſtine with his cavalry at Treves at the time it was demanded.

When Cuſtine ſent this letter to the Convention, he wrote at the ſame time to Kellermann informing him of it. Kellermann alſo wrote to the Convention, and has this expreſſion in his letter: *Les inculpations de Cuſtine n'ont pu être écrites que dans le vin* *.

On this occaſion, it happens fortunately that thoſe Generals are particularly attached to neither party. If they were, their military ſkill, as well as their patriotiſm, would be eſtimated, as is the caſe in other coun-

* The accuſations of Cuſtine muſt have been made in his cups.

tries, according to the political party to which they belonged; and he, who was eſteemed a good General by one ſet of men becauſe he was of their party, would have been called a bad one by another for that very reaſon.

But as in this inſtance the ſpirit of party has not interfered, both are ſpoken of as good officers and faithful ſervants to the public, and their miſunderſtanding is univerſally regretted.

A member in the Convention having ſpoken highly of the recent ſucceſſes of Cuſtine, another immediately obſerved, that if the ſucceſſes of Cuſtine, which were immediately before their eyes, had enlarged their external dominions, Kellermann's victory on the 20th of September had ſaved the interior parts of France.—This was equally applauded by both parties.

In conſequence of Cuſtine's accuſation, Kellermann was called from his army, and

has

has been for ſome time in Paris. He is by birth a German, and ſerved for many years in the German armies. I have been ſeveral times in company with him. Once, when ſeveral Deputies were preſent, he could not abſtain from ſpeaking with indignation of the accuſation of Cuſtine, which gave him no otherwiſe uneaſineſs, he ſaid, than as it obliged him to remain inactive at Paris, while the brave army he had commanded were in the field. Kellermann is a man of plain manners conveying the idea of ſincerity, and whoſe talents are calculated to render him much more brilliant at the head of an army than in converſation. There is no doubt of his being ſoon reſtored to his command.

November 26.

In a company of bourgeois, a perſon was lamenting yeſterday the fatal effects which might happen from diſcord; but added, he

underſtood that the two political parties were on the point of uniting.

On which a chemiſt who was preſent, ſhaking his head, ſaid, he queſtioned it very much; "becauſe," continued he, "ſince fear did not compreſs them together when the Pruſſian and Auſtrian armies were advancing into the heart of the country, there is little probability that ſuch heterogeneous ſubſtances will unite by elective attraction."

However pedantic the chemiſt's language may be thought, his argument ſeems juſt.—Every day, I am more and more confirmed in the opinion, that the animoſity between the two parties will never end but in the deſtruction of one of them; and ſome people think that Roland and his party would have been overſet before now, had it not been for the fédérés, particularly thoſe from Marſeilles, who are now at Paris.

The effect which their name has on the minds of the ſuburb ſans-culottes is wonderful

derful—this greatly vexes Marat. In one of his Journals, he inſinuates that Dumourier expoſed the Pariſian battalions at the battle of Jemmappe, more than the reſt of the army, on purpoſe to have them deſtroyed; and that this was done in compliance with the directions he received from Roland, Briſſot, and that party. His words are: "Pour aſſurer le ſuccès de leurs projets ambitieux, ces tyrans ont enlevés notre bouillante jeuneſſe, toujours la premiere à marcher contre les ſuppôts du deſpotiſme, et à former une barriere autour des défenſeurs du peuple." He afterwards mentions what this bouillante jeuneſſe conſiſted of: "nos forts-de-la-halle, continues he, "nos charbonniers, nos cochers de place."

Thoſe who have ſeen Marat, and are acquainted with the manners and ſentiments of Chabot, Legendre, Merlin de Thionville, and ſome other of his coadjutors, will not be ſurpriſed at their having ſome partiality to

hackney coachmen, colliers, and whatever is rough and vulgar.

A writer of great ingenuity and eminence regrets, that "we ſhall never more behold that generous loyalty to rank and ſex, that proud ſubmiſſion, that dignified obedience, that ſubordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in ſervitude itſelf, the ſpirit of an exalted freedom;" and adds, that with theſe are alſo fled "that ſenſibility of principle, that chaſtity of honour, which felt a ſtain like a wound, which inſpired courage while it mitigated ferocity, which ennobled whatever it touched, and under which *vice itſelf loſt half its evil, by loſing all its groſſneſs.*"

Notwithſtanding the ſplendid elegance and force of this paſſage, the concluding ſentiment has been cenſured. No man however can with leſs reaſon than the honourable gentleman above alluded to, be ſuppoſed to mean this as a palliative for vice of any kind; and it is moſt certain, that

in

in general ſociety, politeneſs is a convenient ſubſtitute for benevolence, and that when rude and poliſhed men are equally vicious, the latter are always leſs diſguſting and ſometimes leſs miſchievous than the former. A ſavage, when he hates a man, or has violent deſire for a woman, will murder the one and raviſh the other; in poliſhed ſociety, a man with the ſame paſſions will do neither. It is equally true, that a great deal of the groſſneſs of vice may be removed, without a grain of its intrinſic wickedneſs being removed with it. The courtier, who, in elegant terms, profeſſes friendſhip to the man he is endeavouring to ſupplant, and politely careſſes thoſe he means to betray, exhibits as much genuine vice as the moſt vulgar footpad that ever knocked a man down, or informed againſt his accomplice.

All the refinement of Courts cannot alter the nature of falſehood, ingratitude, or treachery; nor can all the perfumes of the

Eaſt ſweeten the corruption of vice. On the whole, though poliſh in ſome caſes renders vice leſs miſchievous than it would otherwiſe be, in other caſes it may make it more dangerous by being more attractive; like furbiſhing the knife of a child, which does leaſt harm when ruſty, and is moſt dangerous when brilliant.

The Deputies above mentioned, and others of the Convention, cannot have this laid to their charge; their nauſeous manners and debaſing ſentiments exhibit vice in its native deformity.

November 27.

Aſſertions frequently and boldly repeated ſeldom fail to make an impreſſion on the minds of the populace, and at length to gain belief, in ſpite of the moſt clear and rational evidence of their falſehood.

Marat has been exciting the people to mutual rancour, to pillaging, and cutting

each

each other's throats, ſince the beginning of the Revolution; but he aſſures them in all his ſpeeches, and he tells them every morning in his Journal, that he is l'Ami du Peuple!—and the populace believe them.

It is univerſally known, that the Girondiſts exculpate the citizens of Paris from the horrid crimes of September; whereas Robeſpierre, St. André, Tallien, Chabot, Bazire, and all that party, aſſert, that the maſſacres were committed by the people. But as, at the ſame time, St. André always calls them "le bon peuple," Marat ſays "he carries them in his heart," and Robeſpierre declares "he would willingly ſacrifice his life for them," the populace conſider this faction as their friends, and look on Roland and the Girondiſts as their calumniators.

It is alſo notorious, that Roland, Claviere, Genſonnet, Guadet, and the other leaders of that party are republicans; that they

they made open attempts to eſtabliſh that form of government, at the time the King was brought back from Varennes, that Robeſpierre, Danton, and many of their friends oppoſed it, and declaimed in the Jacobin Society againſt it, and in favour of monarchy. Yet, as the favouring of monarchy is now conſidered as the greateſt of all crimes, thoſe very perſons accuſe the Girondiſts of that crime, and of being determined enemies to the Republic; which aſſertions, by dint of repetition, begin to be believed; and Roland, Briſſot, Guadet, and the whole of that party, are of courſe becoming daily leſs popular.

In a ſmall company, a few days ſince, a perſon remarked, "That the great fondneſs which Robeſpierre, Danton, and ſome others, ſhewed for a republican form of government, was of a very late date; and that although they diſplayed ſuch deadly rancour againſt Lewis XVI, by whom they thought

thought they never could be forgiven, yet they had no hatred to monarchy, provided they could have a King of their own chooſing."

Another of the company obſerved, "That he could not believe that ſo fierce and inſolent a ſpirit as Danton would bear to ſee any King eſtabliſhed in France."

"I am convinced, however," ſaid a third, "that he would like well enough to ſee M. Egalité on the throne."

"Remember," reſumed the firſt ſpeaker, "what Benſerade ſaid, when he was told that a certain lady was fond of the Duc de la Vantadour, who was the ugliеſt man in France: "Parbleu, ſi elle aime celui-la, elle en aimera bien un autre*."

November 28.

It is not ſurpriſing, that a people of great

* If ſhe can love him, ſhe will ſoon love another.

ſenſibility,

ſenſibility, and naturally verſatile, ſhould fly from one extreme to another; yet one would hardly have expected that Republican manners would have been much to the taſte of the French nation.

There is however in Paris at preſent, a great affectation of that plainneſs in dreſs, and ſimplicity of expreſſion, which are ſuppoſed to belong to Republicans. I have ſometimes been in company, ſince I came laſt to Paris, with a young man, of one of the firſt families in France, who, contrary to the wiſhes and example of his relations, is a violent democrate. He came into the box where I was laſt night at the playhouſe; he was in boots, his hair cropt, and his whole dreſs ſlovenly: on this being taken notice of, he ſaid, "That he was accuſtoming himſelf to appear like a Republican." It reminded me of a lady, who being reproached with having a very ugly man for her lover,

lover, ſaid, *C'eſt pour m'accoutumer à la laideur de mon mari**.

They begin to *tutoyer* each other, that is, to uſe in converſation the ſingular pronoun *tu*, inſtead of the plural *vous*, as the Romans did, and the Quakers do. They have ſubſtituted the name Citoyen, for Monſieur, when talking to or of any perſon; but more frequently, particularly in the National Aſſembly, they pronounce the name ſimply, as Buzot, Guadet, Vergniaud. It has even been propoſed in ſome of the Journals, that the cuſtom of taking off the hat and bowing the head ſhould be aboliſhed, as remains of the ancient ſlavery, and unbecoming the independent ſpirit of free men; inſtead of which they are deſired, on meeting their acquaintance in the ſtreet, to place their right hand to their heart as a ſign of cordiality.

* It is to accuſtom myſelf to the uglineſs of my huſband.

All

All this appears a little premature. If the Republic is permanent, new manners will gradually be introduced, and a new national character will of courſe be formed; but ſo very ſudden a change of decoration is too much in the ſtyle of a harlequin entertainment to be durable. The example of the Greeks and Romans is, in my opinion, too often held out; and when I hear the names of Lycurgus and Brutus and Cato repeated in the Convention, it raiſes recollections which are not favourable to thoſe legiſlators and patriots to whoſe debates I am liſtening. One of the beſt obſervations I have ſeen in any of Marat's Journals, is the following: After ſneering at ſome of the Deputies, on account of their high pretenſions to patriotiſm, he adds, "Theſe are the men, who are on every ſlight occaſion telling us, 'Souvenez-vous que nous ſommes Républicains, que tout ce qui n'eſt pas grand et ſublime n'eſt pas digne de nous.'—

Meſſieurs, ſoyez d'abord honnêtes gens: après cela, vous ſerez des Camille, des Regulus, des Catons, ſi vous le pouvez*."

David, the celebrated painter, who is a Member of the Convention and a zealous Republican, has ſketched ſome deſigns for a republican dreſs, which he ſeems eager to have introduced; it reſembles the old Spaniſh dreſs, conſiſting of a jacket with tight trowſers, a coat without ſleeves above the jacket, a ſhort cloak, which may either hang looſe from the left ſhoulder or be drawn over both: a belt to which two piſtols and a ſword may be attached, a round hat and feather, are alſo part of this dreſs, according to the ſketches of David; in which full as much attention is paid to picturesque effect as to conveniency. This artiſt is uſing all

* Remember that we are Republicans, that nothing but what is great and ſublime is worthy of us.—Pray, gentlemen, try in the firſt place to be honeſt men: after that, each of you may become a Camillus, a Regulus, or a Cato, if he can.

his influence, I underſtand, to engage his friends to adopt it, and is in hopes that the Municipality of Paris will appear in it at a public feaſt, or rejoicing, which is expected ſoon. I ſaid to the perſon who gave me this account, "that I was ſurpriſed that David, who was ſo great a patriot, ſhould be ſo anxious about an object of this kind."

He anſwered, "that David had been a painter before he was a patriot."

Part of this dreſs is already adopted by many; but I have only ſeen one perſon in public completely equipped with the whole; and as he had managed it, his appearance was rather fantaſtical. His jacket and trowſers were blue; his coat, through which the blue ſleeves appeared, was white with a ſcarlet cape; his round hat was amply ſupplied with plumage; he had two piſtols ſtuck in his belt, and a very formidable ſabre at his ſide: he is a tall man, and of a very warlike figure; I took him for a Major of Dragoons

at leaſt: on enquiry I find he is a miniature painter.

November 29.

General Kellermann is reſtored to his command, and is to ſet out for the army in a few days: having heard that he was to be at the Jacobin Society laſt night, I went there.

The General made a ſhort ſpeech, importing that he had come to take his leave of the friends of the people previous to his leaving Paris. The General is no orator, nor did he attempt eloquence; what he ſaid, however, was applauded. One of his friends roſe, and demanded that he might be received as a member into the Society: this propoſal occaſioned a murmur, which ſurpriſed me after the applauſe with which the General himſelf had been heard.

I ſoon underſtood from thoſe around me, that this manner of propoſing a member was contrary to the rules of the Society;

that if he wiſhed to be admitted, he ought to have made the propoſal himſelf, ſince he was preſent, and not by deputation. One of the Members whiſpered the General, who immediately roſe, and aſked the favour of being received as a member of the Society.

Still there was a demur and whiſpering through the hall. I heard ſome who were near me ſay, that the uſual formalities ought not to be diſpenſed with, it was a bad precedent; others might expect to be admitted in the ſame manner: it was unworthy of Republicans to pay any regard to his rank in the army, &c. &c.

The General roſe again, and declared, that he had not been acquainted with the particular forms of the Jacobin Society of Paris, otherwiſe he would have ſtrictly obſerved them in the application he made; that perhaps it was too late, as he ſhould be obliged ſo ſoon to ſet out for the army; that he

had imagined they might be the leſs neceſſary in his caſe, as he was already a member of the Jacobin Society of Straſbourg, and had been ſometimes honoured with the name of the Jacobin General. Cicero could have ſaid nothing more perſuaſive than this. Kellermann was declared a member amidſt the applauſe of all preſent.

The Preſident gave him the kiſs of fraternity, and made him a ſhort addreſs, the tendency of which was to wiſh him victory, and that he might ſpread the ſentiments of liberty and equality among the ſuperſtitious ſlaves of Italy, and inſpire the ſubjects of the Pope with the ſentiments of the Roman Republic: he finiſhed by exhorting the General not to allow his mind to be elated by the victories which he had already obtained, or thoſe which the army of the Republic might hereafter obtain under his command; but remember, that after them all, he muſt return to the condition of a private citizen, and be

reſpected, not according to the rank he was raiſed to in the army, but according to his virtues, and the ſervice he had rendered to his country.

Kellermann heard this admonition with the grave and reſpectful air of a timid ſtudent receiving inſtructions from a Profeſſor.

After this, a member of the Society, whoſe face I had never ſeen, and whoſe name I do not remember, aſcended the tribune, and made a tedious and diſguſting harangue, to prove the right the Nation has to try and condemn the King; repreſenting all the arguments in favour of his inviolability as ſophiſtical, and hinting that thoſe who uſed them were traitors to their country: the orator added every thing that malice could ſuggeſt, to inflame the audience againſt the unfortunate Monarch. Among other aſſertions, unſupported by probability or proof, he ſaid, " that the King had gone from the Tuileries to the Aſſembly Hall

partly

partly from fear of being wounded or killed during the attack which he had ordered to be made on the people, and partly with a view to point out the members he wiſhed to be murdered by the Swiſs, and by the Chevaliers du Poignard, whom he expected every moment to ſee enter the hall, reeking from the ſlaughter of the citizens. He repreſented the Queen in the ſame light; and concluded, that both merited an immediate and ignominious death:" at which ſome woman in the galleries, who had ſhewn much ſatisfaction during the diſcourſe, exclaimed, "*Oui, oui.*"

November 30.

When I returned from the Jacobins laſt night, I expreſſed to the perſon who had procured me admiſſion, my ſurpriſe at the heſitation in receiving Kellermann as a member. "I ſhould have thought," ſaid I, "that they would have been eager to admit a victorious General."

" In my opinion they were in the right to heſitate," he replied: " no ſet of men are ſo apt to over-value themſelves as thoſe who are at the head of armies;—they talk of their victories as if they had been gained, like that of Samſon, by the ſtrength of one arm; whereas nothing is more certain, than that victories are often obtained by the valour of the troops, in ſpite of the blunders of their Generals. Kellermann," continued he, " did his duty at Valmy; ſo did every ſoldier of his army, in which it cannot be doubted there are at leaſt an hundred who are as fit to command as he, and ſome of them, in all probability, more ſo;—and are thoſe gentry to expect to be admitted into a ſociety like that of the Jacobins, without obſerving the ſame forms with others? No, no, ſuch diſtinctions are dangerous to liberty, particularly when beſtowed on the General of an army. Who was it," continued he, " that overturned the Roman Republic?

Julius

Julius Cæſar, the General of an army. Who diſmiſſed the Parliament of England, and eſtabliſhed military deſpotiſm? Oliver Cromwell, the General of an army. Who reſtored royalty in the ſame country? Monk, the General of an army."

"Do you imagine," ſaid I, "that little mortifications of this kind will prevent ſimilar events from happening in France? All thoſe who are at the head of your armies may not have the moderation of Waſhington."

"We do not rely on the moderation of our Generals," anſwered he, "but on the ſpirit of freedom which pervades the French armies, and will prove a check to the ambitious or treacherous views of their leaders. This ſpirit did not exiſt in any of the armies above mentioned. The army of Cæſar looked up to him, and to him only; at his order they marched with as little reluctance

luctance againſt the Senate, as againſt the Gauls: the armies of Cromwell and Monk were ſo deceived and modelled, as to become the blind inſtruments of the will of their Generals: the armies of France are more enlightened, and are organiſed in a different manner; they will follow their leaders againſt the foreign enemy, but not againſt their country. No General was ever more popular than La Fayette; yet he would have been arreſted in the midſt of his own army, if he had not fled; and if the Convention thought proper, they could arreſt Dumourier to-morrow in the middle of his, notwithſtanding all his victories. But civil honours and diſtinctions would render the Generals of armies more dangerous; and therefore, in civil ſociety, they ſhould be made to feel themſelves on a level with their fellow citizens, and obliged to ſubmit to the ſame regulations in public ſocieties with the other members. Every kind of particular

particular diſtinction ſhewn to profeſſional rank, or to birth, is unworthy of the independent ſpirit of Republicans; "and you might obſerve," continued he, "that when citoyen Egalité entered and ſeated himſelf by you, his appearance produced no ſenſation:—no notice was taken of him."

"Forgive me," anſwered I, "his entrance did produce a ſenſation; and if I had not before been acquainted with his perſon, I ſhould have gueſſed it to be him, by an affectation which I remarked in thoſe around, not to take notice of him."

December 1.

Few things ſhock a ſtranger more on his firſt arrival in this country, than the unrelenting and indelicate ſtyle in which the Queen is ſpoken of; and nothing ſeems more contrary to what was formerly conſidered as characteriſtic of the French nation. They have been often accuſed of paying

paying ſo great an attention to politeneſs, that they neglected morality; they are now in danger of neglecting the firſt, without paying more attention to the ſecond, and of loſing every attribute of courtiers, except that of abandoning the unfortunate."

The report in the name of the Committee of Legiſlation, on the mode of conducting the King's trial, was read lately in the Convention by Mailhe:—after which, he ſaid, "We have ſaid nothing of Marie Antoinette; what right has ſhe to have her caſe confounded with that of Lewis XVI? The lives of thoſe women who have had the titles of Queen of France were never conſidered as more inviolable or more ſacred than thoſe of other rebels or conſpirators; therefore, in caſe you think proper to bring a decree of accuſation againſt her, ſhe will of courſe be tried by ſome of the ordinary criminal courts."

As the mode of trying the King was the ſole-

ſole object ſubmitted to the conſideration of the Committee, I was reflecting what could be this man's motive for departing from the ſubject of the report, on purpoſe to make this brutal attack on the Queen; but when he had finiſhed, and I heard the galleries reſound with applauſe, I was no longer at a loſs. As ſoon as the noiſe was over, I heard one of the Deputies ſay to his neighbour, "I ſhould not be ſurpriſed, that ſhe were condemned to occupy Madame de la Motte's vacant place at the Bicêtre *."

But what ſurpriſed me more than any thing I have had occaſion to obſerve on this ſubject, was a converſation I had at a coffee-houſe, in the Palais Royal, with a perſon I have ſometimes accidentally met there: he is a man of a grave and reſpect-

* The perſon's name who made this harſh and indecent ſpeech, is in my original Journal; I omit it here, becauſe I afterwards knew of a very eſſential ſervice which he rendered to an unfortunate Emigrant.

able

able appearance, of about forty-five or fifty years of age, well dreſſed, but rather in the ſtyle that was faſhionable before, than ſince the Revolution. He is not a member of the Convention, but I had ſeen him there often, and had ſometimes converſed with him: I took him for a man of moderation and humanity, he now convinced me how much I had been miſtaken.—I aſked him a queſtion concerning the intended trial of the King—there was nothing remarkable in his anſwer. I then ſaid ſomething expreſſive of ſympathy for the deplorable ſituation of the Queen: his eyes kindled, and his countenance altered at the name; the mention of the Queen affected him as that of chivalry did Don Quixote; his diſcourſe, from that of a man of ſenſe, became the ravings of a madman; he poured out the moſt illiberal torrent of rancorous abuſe againſt her that I ever heard; and concluded the whole with this horrid ſentiment, which I tranſlate literally:

terally: "I hope *that* woman will be obliged to drink the full draught of miſery which is poured out for her, to the very dregs."

The rancour which in this country is manifeſted againſt the Queen, is more violent and more unaccountable than even that which appeared in Scotland againſt Mary Queen of Scots, though many circumſtances concurred to create a jealouſy in the minds of the people of Scotland, againſt their Sovereign, which do not exiſt in the other inſtance. Endowed with unrivalled beauty, and adorned with every elegant accompliſhment, Mary had been accuſtomed to the ſplendor of a licentious Court, over which preſided an unprincipled woman, of whoſe politics, gallantry was a principal engine. She returned to her native country at a time when it was ſo overſhadowed with fanatical gloom, that the inhabitants conſidered

ſidered gaiety as ſinful, and pleaſure as a profanation.

Mary was of a religion which the Scottiſh nation held in abhorrence: how could a people endure the varied ornamented robes of Popery, in whoſe eyes the decent ſurplice of the Church of England was deteſted, as a rag of the ſtrumpet of Babylon, whoſe worſhip they ſuſpected their young Queen wiſhed to introduce into her native country?

The manners of the Court of Vienna were very different from thoſe of the Louvre; and the character of Maria Thereſa was the reverſe of that of Catherine of Medicis. —That their Queen was beautiful, and elegant, and gay; that ſhe loved ſplendor, and was a Roman Catholic, were circumſtances of a nature to gain, and not to alienate a people like the French.

Beſides, the crimes imputed to Mary, whether

ther true or falſe, were of a much deeper dye than any which calumny has ever laid to the charge of the Queen of France. And although the fate of the former was moſt affecting and deplorable, yet the cauſes which brought it on are not uncommon. Mary fell the victim of hypocriſy, female jealouſy, and political fear; whereas the ſufferings of the Queen of France are as contrary to policy as to humanity, and proceed from a people, who, before they could behave to her in the barbarous manner they did, muſt have renounced every amiable quality imputed to them by their friends, and adopted the diſpoſition of which they are accuſed by their bittereſt enemies.

December 2.

The moſt deplorable circumſtance which diſtinguiſhes this Revolution from others, is, that when its original object was in a great meaſure obtained, order, tranquillity,

and ſubmiſſion to law did not return. One revolution has been grafted on another; new alterations have been imagined, and executed by men more violent, and means more bloody, than the former; the populace, ſtimulated by unprincipled leaders, have committed all the exceſſes of revolted negroes, or of ſlaves who have burſt from the galleys. At this moment, four years after the firſt inſurrection, inſtead of the bleſſings of freedom, the unhappy people of France are, under the name of a Republic, ſuffering more intolerable oppreſſion than they ever did under the moſt deſpotic of their monarchs; and are at the ſame time expoſed to the attacks of external enemies, whoſe number is daily increaſing by the imprudent conduct of their new governors.

Of all the evils which have attended this extraordinary Revolution, the moſt important to mankind in general, perhaps, is, that it weakens the indignation which every

liberal

liberal mind naturally feels for deſpotiſm, and inclines them to ſubmit to the awful tranquillity of methodiſed oppreſſion, rather than riſk ſuch ſcenes of anarchy and carnage as have been of late exhibited in this country.

Yet it ought to be remembered, that deſpotiſm, though leſs ſavage, is more hopeleſs than anarchy, which contains within itſelf the ſeeds of its own deſtruction; whereas, the pillars of deſpotiſm, being artfully arranged for the ſupport of each other, as well as of that of the general fabric, may ſtand for ages. Were it not for this circumſtance, and if there were no choice but to live under arbitrary government, or to be expoſed to the unreſtrained ravages and cruelties of a frantic populace, perhaps the former would be preferred as the leſſer evil. —For, in ſpite of the vitiating tendency of unlimited power on the human heart, hiſtory affords inſtances of perhaps one in a

dozen of Princes whoſe power was unlimited, and who yet preſerved the virtues of humanity; whereas a mob is always furious, brutal, and cruel.

But Heaven has not confined mankind to this miſerable alternative; nor is every nation poſſeſſed of the impetuoſity of the French, which, at the firſt ſenſation of freedom, has hurried them headlong into exceſſes without any rational object—like the lunatic, who having ſpoken the language of moderation, and announced a peaceable diſpoſition, makes uſe of his liberty in attacking every body around, and fighting furiouſly, till, his ſtrength being exhauſted, he is again brought back to his fetters.

The emigration of the Nobleſſe was moſt unfortunate; I ſpeak of that which took place at the beginning of the Revolution, when it was ſtill ſafe for them to remain in their country; and not of thoſe which have happened ſince, and were abſolutely neceſ-

ſary

ſary for ſelf-preſervation: but it is more than probable that the neceſſity for theſe laſt emigrations aroſe from the unneceſſary one which took place at firſt. Had all the Nobleſſe remained, it cannot be imagined but that a body of men of the moſt extenſive property muſt, in ſpite of the torrent of the times, have retained great influence, and prevented many of the diſorders which have diſtracted this unhappy country. Numbers of the Nobleſſe would have been elected into the Aſſemblies, and thus have precluded ſome Deputies who perhaps have been the cauſe of great miſchief: by accommodating themſelves in ſome degree to the prevailing opinions, they would have gradually rendered them more mild and conciliatory, and prevented that degree of acrimonious prejudice which at preſent prevails againſt the whole body of Nobility. The earlieſt emigrants being conſidered as the inſtigators of a combination of foreign

powers againſt France, as determined to re-eſtabliſh the ancient government, and as filled with the moſt implacable deſire of vengeance; the odium againſt them became ſtronger every day, and was by the populace, ever incapable of diſcrimination, extended to the whole claſs. The Nobleſſe who remained in the country were daily provoked by new injuries from their countrymen within, and piqued by letters from thoſe without, accuſing them of meanneſs in ſubmitting to the new order of things, and of cowardice for not joining the armies of the Princes. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that many of them left their country. After the tenth of Auguſt, it became dangerous for any of them who had ſhewn themſelves the friends of limited Monarchy, and eager to ſupport the Conſtitution, to remain in France.

As for that party which is known by the name

name of Girondiſte, and to which Roland, Briſſot, Buzot, Condorcet, and many other deputies who do not come from the Gironde, belong, they are certainly free from the dreadful guilt of the maſſacre of the priſoners; I am perſuaded alſo, that they not only wiſhed to ſave the life of the King, but that ſome of them have riſked their own lives in the various meaſures they have uſed for that purpoſe: yet being acquitted of theſe, other charges of a highly criminal nature remain againſt them.

After the Conſtitution was accepted by the King, and after they themſelves had ſworn to maintain it, they continued their efforts to overthrow it.

Judging of the King from what they thought muſt be his ſecret wiſh, and what, it is probable, they were conſcious would have been their own conduct in his ſituation, they could never believe that he would remain faithful to the Conſtitu-

tion; they were convinced that in his heart he abhorred it, and would ſeize the firſt opportunity to overturn it, to puniſh all who had any hand in eſtabliſhing it, and to reſtore the ancient ſyſtem with renewed force and augmented terror. They were convinced that the freedom of France could have no ſure foundation but in a Republic; and on this conviction, they ſcrupled not to uſe the moſt perfidious means to introduce that form of government.

They endeavoured to vilify the character of the King, with a view to render royalty odious and contemptible; they gave circulation to innumerable ſtories, to the prejudice of others of the Royal family, which they either knew to be falſe, or had no proof of their being true.

On mere conjecture, they accuſed the King and Queen of undermining the Conſtitution to reſtore deſpotiſm, while they were conſcious of undermining it themſelves, on

purpoſe

purpoſe to rear a Republic. They involved their country in a war with the Emperor, on pretexts which they knew to be groundleſs, and ſolely in the expectation that it would increaſe that jealouſy of the King which already exiſted, and give riſe to incidents and circumſtances on which plauſible accuſations againſt him and his Miniſters might be founded.

By thoſe means, they rendered a benevolent Prince, who was anxious for the welfare of his ſubjects, unpopular; by thoſe means they produced the inſurrection of the 20th of June, and prepared the minds of the populace for that of the 10th of Auguſt; and by making it be believed, that a Prince of ſuch a quiet, unambitious character as Lewis XVI. could not remain ſatisfied with the power granted by the Conſtitution, but was ſecretly conſpiring to reſtore deſpotiſm, conveying the idea, that every one who could be placed on the throne would

would do the ſame, the French nation were tricked into a republican form of government, when there is great reaſon to believe that a vaſt majority would have preferred a limited monarchy.

December 3.

That fickleneſs of diſpoſition which has been conſidered as the general characteriſtic of the populace of every nation, certainly belongs in a ſtronger degree, and more peculiarly to the French than to any other, and has appeared more perſpicuouſly ſince the preſent Revolution than it perhaps ever did before.

Nothing could ſurpaſs the popularity of Necker at one period. Although a ſtranger and a proteſtant, the whole nation, fixing their eyes on him, ſeemed to exclaim, *Tu maximus ille es*—and to conſider him as the only perſon who could ſave the country from ruin, and reſtore their affairs. A ſhort

time

time after he had been recalled by the united voice of the people, he began to be neglected, and is now almoſt forgotten.

La Fayette, who was adored, is now deteſted.

The popularity of Petion, which was in its meridian when we arrived in France, begins already to decline.

Orleans and others have had their moments of popularity, which, as a genuine poet beautifully obſerves of pleaſures, has had the fate

Of ſnow that falls upon the river,
A moment white—then melts for ever;
Or like the borealis race,
That flit ere you can point their place;
Or like the rainbow's lovely form
Evaniſhing amid the ſtorm *.

The ſame fickleneſs which the French have diſplayed in a manner ſo ſtriking, with reſpect to their favourites, at various pe-

* Burns's Poems.

riods

riods of the Revolution, is alſo conſpicuous with regard to their taſte in government. When the attempt was made to introduce a republican form, after the King's return from Varennes, it was rejected.

In the month of July laſt, a member of the National Aſſembly declared, that he was as much againſt a Republic being eſtabliſhed in France, as a deſpotic Monarchy; and he invited all who were of the ſame opinion, to avow it by ſtanding up.

All the members inſtantly ſtood up.

This happened in the month of July, and the National Convention decreed the abolition of monarchy on the 21ſt of September.

I ſtated this to a Member of the Convention yeſterday, as a proof that his countrymen were free from that ſtubbornneſs of which ſome people are accuſed.

He anſwered, " that althoügh he did not believe the change of opinion to be ſo uni-

verſal as ſome wiſhed to have it thought, yet he *did* believe, that there was a conſiderable change ſince the 10th of Auguſt, which he imagined was in a great meaſure owing to two cauſes: Firſt, the idea that prevailed, that the papers found in the King's cabinet on that day, and thoſe lately diſcovered in the iron cheſt, in the wall of the palace, formed a convincing proof of the King's having conſpired with the foreign enemy to betray the country. "This," he ſaid, "had raiſed a general indignation, and had reconciled many minds to the idea of a Republic, who formerly thought that form of government very unſuitable to France.

"A ſecond cauſe which contributed to the ſame effect," he ſaid, "was the prodigious ſucceſs of their arms; which was in a great meaſure imputed to the energy which the idea of being republicans and freemen impreſſed on the minds of the French."

I ob-

I obſerved, "that if this laſt conſideration had any weight, it muſt entirely proceed from the inſpiriting ſentiment of freedom, and the French might have been free without being Republicans."

The perſon with whom I was converſing, being himſelf a Republican, ſhook his head at this obſervation;—on which I added, "It is equally certain, that they may be Republicans without being free *."

Accounts of towns taken, battles gained, and ſucceſs of every kind, are announced in the Convention almoſt daily. Four ſtandards taken from the Piedmonteſe were preſented to them yeſterday, by an aid-de-camp of General Anſelme, ſent from his army for that purpoſe; the colours were unrolled and diſplayed in the middle of the hall; the applauſe and ſhouting were of

* This perſon, who was attached to the party of Roland and Briſſot, has had ſevere experience of the truth of this remark.

courſe loud and perſevering.—In his addreſs to the Aſſembly, the officer made uſe of ſome expreſſions which indicate pretty juſtly to what a height national vanity is mounted in this country: I tranſlate them literally.

" Legiſlators, our enemies had the audacity to appear: Anſelme ſhewed himſelf, and they fled as uſual. Our army ardently deſires to enter into the heart of Italy. Naples inſults you, Rome excommunicates you, the King of Sardinia does not acknowledge you his conquerors: only give us the order, and all the crowns of the South ſhall be brought to your bar. Our ſoldiers declare, that each of them has a heart to bleſs your decrees, and two hands to execute them. The Romans in their degeneracy called out for bread, and public ſpectacles; the French, being regenerated, demand bread and the proſperity of the Republic."

The Imperial Eagle, which formerly ſtood on the top of the ſteeple of Namur, has been

removed

removed to Paris: it was placed on an open carriage, and drawn in the moſt oſtentatious manner from the gate of the city to the door of the Aſſembly hall, eſcorted by a party of dragoons, one of whom rode immediately before the carrriage, holding a chain, the other end of which was around the Eagle's neck.

I was at the Convention when the commander of the party came to the bar, and addreſſing the Aſſembly ſaid: "Legiſlateurs, Monſeignieur l'Aigle Imperiale attend vos ordres."

One Deputy moved, that it ſhould be placed, with the claws and beak cut off, on the top of the obeliſk now erecting in the Place de Victoire. Merlin of Thionville propoſed that it ſhould rather be hung by the legs from the ſame monument. Another deſired that the Eagle ſhould be permitted to ſtand in his uſual poſture, but with the cap of Liberty on his head.

Theſe

Theſe witticiſms, ſuch as they are, afforded great entertainment.

The prodigious torrent of ſucceſs which has flowed on the Republic of late, might have intoxicated a nation of ſoberer brains than the French. Had this produced no other effects than huzzas and proceſſions in the ſtreets, alluſions to their victories, and ſelf-praiſe in ſongs and declamations at the theatres, or the rhodomontades of a few orators in the Convention, there would have been no great harm; but moſt unfortunately the intoxication has affected the judgment of a majority of the deputies, as evidently appears by the deciſion of the Executive Council of the 16th of November, ſent to the French Generals commanding the expedition to Brabant, to uſe every meaſure in their power to open the navigation of the Scheldt; and by the inconſiderate and raſh decree of the 19th of November, by which the Convention declares, "au nom

de la Nation Françoiſe, qu'elle accordera fraternité et ſecours à tous les peuples qui voudront recouvrir leur liberté *;" and likewiſe by charging the Executive Power to give the commanders of the French armies orders to protect the citizens of every country who may be diſturbed or vexed for the cauſe of liberty.

Which is in effect telling the inhabitants of every country, that whenever they chooſe to riſe in inſurrection againſt their government, they will be aſſiſted by the French.

So far from adhering to their former profeſſions of a love of peace with all their neighbours, it is proclaiming a challenge to all Europe, and laying the foundation of everlaſting war; for what country exiſts, or ever did exiſt, in which part of the inhabitants did not think that they laboured un-

* In the name of the French nation, that they will aſſiſt the people of every country who wiſh to recover their liberty.

der

der inconveniences, which they might call vexations or infringements of their liberty? This decree therefore announces to all the people of Europe, that as often as any part of them chooſes to rebel againſt their government, it will be ſupported by France. By a decree of the 27th of November, Savoy is declared an eighty-fourth department, under the name of the department of Mont Blanc; which, contrary to their former declarations, renouncing every idea of conqueſt, is to all intents and purpoſes making a conqueſt, and evincing as great an ambition for extent of dominion as Lewis XIV, or any French monarch ever diſplayed; and of courſe the Republic will rouſe the jealouſy of Europe as much as he did.

December 4.

A Committee had been appointed to examine certain papers, lately diſcovered in an iron cheſt, concealed in a cavity of the wall of the palace.

As a report was this day to be made to the Convention concerning thoſe papers, we went to the Aſſembly to hear it, although we had previouſly determined to leave Paris early in the morning.

Some very important diſcoveries were expected from thoſe papers. When Rhul, of Straſburgh, who was Preſident of the Committee, aſcended the tribune to make the report, a moſt profound and awful ſilence took place; it was underſtood, that there were a number of letters to the King, and his Miniſters, among thoſe papers. Every Member of the Convention muſt therefore have been in a ſtate of anxiety, either on his own account or on account of ſome of his friends: an imprudent expreſſion in a letter to a Miniſter might, in the preſent ſtate of men's minds, expoſe the writer to great danger. The papers however proved to be of very little importance. Barrere, who at preſent is Preſident of the Convention,

tion, is mentioned in ſome of theſe papers; ſo are Dumourier, Claviere, Kerſaint, all as having had ſome connection or intercourſe with the Court, but not in a way that can be conſidered as criminal.—But, although no ſuſpicion of treaſon could be inferred from them, one particular letter does afford one of the ſtrongeſt proofs of ſelf-ſufficiency and preſumption that has been recorded in hiſtory or fable ſince the days of Phaeton. It is from Rouyer, a member of the Convention, who had alſo been of the former Aſſembly.

The man had frequently drawn my attention before: he is remarkably noiſy and buſtling; but as his importance ſeemed to be founded on his own ſingle opinion, and what he ſaid, although pronounced with great force, had little weight, I had never inquired his name.

The letter is dated in March, and is addreſſed to the King himſelf.

The following are extracts from it:

" Profondement occupé des maux qui dechirent ma patrie, j'ai dû compter auſſi ſes innombrables reſſources; j'ai ſondé ſes bleſſures et calculé ſes forces; j'ai tout comparé, tout aprofondi, tout prévu *." He then declares, that he has a ſecret which will within two months reſtore the health of the empire, " cicatriſer ſes plaies, diſſiper ſes alarmes, annihiler ſes périls, rendre à la France le repos qui la fuit, la dignité qui lui convient, et au trône l'amour qui l'affermit avec l'éclat qui le décore †.". He at laſt reveals his ſecret, which is, only that the King would place the whole power of the State in his hands; and he continues, " Sire,

* —Deeply concerned for the misfortunes of my country, I have alſo reflected on her innumerable reſources; I have founded her wounds and calculated her force; I have compared them, I have fathomed them, I have foreſeen every thing——

† That will heal her wounds, diſſipate her alarms, annihilate her dangers, and reſtore to France the tranquillity which has fled from her, and the dignity which becomes her; and to the Crown the public love which renders it ſecure, and the ſplendor which adorns it——

je

je le repète encore à votre Majeſté, je m'engage à rétablir dans deux mois la paix au dedans, la conſideration au dehors, la félicité publique et l'autorité royale ——— J'irai vous révéler ce que vos Miniſtres vous cachent, ou vous apprendre ce qu'ils ignorent——Pour moi, Sire, je connois ſi bien nos forces et nos moyens, qu'en jetant les yeux ſur les ennemis qui nous menacent, j'ai peine à me defendre d'un ſentiment de pitié.—J'ai porté mes regards ſur toutes les Cours de l'Europe, et je ſuis bien ſûr de les forcer à la paix.——Je jouirai, dans le ſilence, du fruit de mes conſeils—Heureux du bonheur de tous, je dirigerai vers vous ſeul la reconnoiſſance publique *."

This

* Sire, I again repeat to your Majeſty, that I engage to re-eſtabliſh, within the ſpace of two months, peace within, importance from without, general felicity, and the royal authority ——

I will reveal to you what your Miniſters conceal, and I will inſtruct you in what they are ignorant.——As for my own part, Sire, I am ſo intimately acquainted

This letter had, it is probable, been kept as a curioſity of its kind, and thrown into the cheſt with the other papers found there.

Barrere's name having been mentioned in one of them, namely, in a letter from M. de la Porte to the King, he thought proper to demand leave to be heard before any other perſon; as the Preſident of the National Convention ought not to remain a moment under ſuſpicion.—He deſired Guadet to occupy his place as Preſident, while he himſelf went to the tribune, to explain how he came to be mentioned in De la Porte's letter.

Before he began, Charlier ſuddenly ſtood up, and ſaid, that the ſame delicacy which had prompted Barrere to quit his place as

with our force, that on contemplating the enemies who threaten us, I can ſcarcely ſuppreſs a ſentiment of pity. I have thrown my eyes on all the Courts of Europe, and I am certain of being able to force them into peace.——I ſhall enjoy in ſilence the fruit of my counſel.—Satisfied with the general proſperity, I ſhall direct the public gratitude to your Majeſty.

Preſident;

Preſident, ought to have prevented Guadet from taking it.

Many voices exclaimed, that Guadet was not mentioned in any of the papers.

Charlier inſiſted, that although his name had not been read to the Convention, yet he was poſitively included in the deſcription given by the Member who had made the report.

The way in which he attempted to make out this, is ſingular enough: "For," continued Charlier, "in one of the papers addreſſed to the King, it is ſaid, that thirteen or fourteen of the moſt eloquent Members of the Convention were *dans les bonnes diſpoſitions*; and although none of them are named, yet it is evident that Guadet muſt be one of them; for every body knows, that there are not thirteen members of the Convention more eloquent than he."

Rhul, who was the organ of the Committee in making the report, was ſo much offended at hearing this, that he declared

with great heat, that if his expreſſions were to be twiſted into accuſations, he would reſign his place as a Member of the Committee.

Charlier's conſtruction was condemned; Rhul was appeaſed; Guadet was allowed to perform the function of Preſident, until Barrere made his defence, which was eaſily done; after which he reſumed his office.

Guadet then quitting the Preſident's chair, aſcended the tribune, and, in reply to Charlier's inſinuation, declared, that he had never been connected with the Court—"But if I had, and if I were conſcious of guilt, I know how I could obtain my pardon: I know," continued he with animation, and looking to that part of the hall which the party of the Mountain occupied, "I know under whoſe ſtandard *thoſe place themſelves, who have need of forgiveneſs for the moſt horrid crimes.*" This apoſtrophe threw the Mountain into convulſions, in the midſt of which I left the Convention, and ſoon after we ſet out from Paris.

Lille, December 7.

As it was late in the afternoon before we left Paris, we got no farther than the ſmall town of Louvre that night, to which, a little after our arrival, a party of National Guards brought about ſixty priſoners. The guards ſung the hymn of the Marſeillois as they marched through the town; the priſoners had their hair entirely cut from their head; they were tied two and two together, the right arm of one being bound to the left of another. Thoſe men had behaved ill at Jemappe, and Dumourier had ordered them to be carried in this diſgraceful manner to Paris, to be diſpoſed of as the Convention ſhould ordain. The National Guards of each town through which they paſſed, guarded them to the next. They were to be marched to St. Denis the following morning by a party from Louvre, and the National Guards of St. Denis would the day after conduct them to Paris.

The

The puniſhment ſeems well imagined, and muſt make a ſtrong impreſſion on the troops on the whole route from Mons to Paris.

At Pont St. Maxence, a Courier from the Cabinet, with diſpatches for Dumourier, overtook us; he travelled in a cabriolet adorned with the Cap of Liberty and other inſignia of the Republic. This man, underſtanding that our road and his was the ſame as far as Cambray, made a propoſal to take one of the ſervants into his carriage on certain conditions, informing us at the ſame time, that it would be advantageous to have him with us, becauſe he being a meſſenger from the Cabinet, the gates of all the towns through which we were to paſs, would be opened to us at whatever hour of the night we might arrive.

We agreed to his propoſal, and proceeded to Peronne, where we arrived an hour after it was dark: there we ſhould have remained

that

that night, but as the gates were to be opened at any hour for the Courier, we were perſuaded by him to go on, for he aſſured us, "that we were within three poſts of one of the beſt inns in France, which was protected by General Dumourier, and where he always lodged when he travelled on that road, for the landlord and landlady were the moſt hoſpitable and obliging people in the world." The Courier gave ſuch an inviting deſcription of this inn, that in ſpite of the exceſſive rain and darkneſs of the night we left Peronne, travelled three poſts farther, and arrived at the gate of this famous inn about midnight. After a great deal of knocking, a ſervant looked out of a window, and having in a very angry tone ſaid, "*On ne loge pas ici*," ſhut the window with a great deal more force than was requiſite: this was rather diſagreeable news to people who had been travelling ſince five in the morning, and flattering their imagi-

nation

nation during the laſt four hours, with the hopes of refreſhment and reſt.

Our Courier was a good deal confuſed at this; but on farther inquiry, he was informed that the landlord and landlady were both ill of a malignant fever, which had proved fatal to one of the principal ſervants, and many other perſons in the neighbourhood.

It is fortunate for men, when the beſt meaſure they could adopt is the only one which is left in their power. Our not paſſing the night at this inn, in ſpite of the malignant fever, did not depend entirely on our prudence. We were under the neceſſity of proceeding in the midſt of the rain to Cambray; the Courier renewing his aſſurances, that as he was un Courrier du Cabinet, the gates would be opened as ſoon as he ſhould be announced.

At about two or three in the morning, we ſtopped at a moſt miſerable hovel, immediately without the gates of Cambray.

Had

Had we been ever ſo much diſpoſed to complain of hardſhip or fatigue, every expreſſion of that kind would have been ſuppreſſed by the behaviour of a young dragoon, who jumped from behind our carriage as ſoon as it ſtopped. His arm was in a ſcarf: he informed us, "that his thumb and two of his fingers had been ſhot off at the action near Menehould; that he had been at Paris to ſolicit a ſmall penſion, to prevent him from ſtarving, becauſe," added he, holding up his wounded hand, "avec cette b— de main, I can neither fire a muſket, nor work:—the Secretary of the Miniſter told me, that I could not obtain a penſion without a recommendation from my Colonel; I ſaw very well, qu'il ſe —— de moi *, for he knew that my Colonel was with the army. I immediately determined to ſet out for it myſelf, being ſure of getting

* That he made a jeſt of me.

a re-

a recommendation from the Colonel, who is un brave garçon; and I ſhould have been obliged to have made the whole journey on foot, had it not been for the politeneſs of Monſieur le Courrier, who invited me to go behind your chaiſe, where I have ſat as happy as a king all the way from Peronne, for I always have been very fortunate."

This poor fellow had a little dog in his arms, which he endeavoured to dry with the ſkirts of his coat. He was deſired to come near a furnace with ſome embers in it, which ſtood in the middle of the room, and we lamented to ſee him quite drenched with rain. "Ce n'eſt rien, Citoyen Anglais," ſaid he, "j'y ſuis accoutumé—mais je crois bien que mon pauvre chien a froid—viens, viens, mon ami," continued he, careſſing the dog, "viens te chauffer *. My wife got

* It is nothing to me, Citizen—I am uſed to it; but I fear my poor dog may be cold; come, come hither, poor fellow, and warm yourſelf.

this-

this little dog when he was quite a puppy, and it will prove the moſt fortunate thing in the world, for I intend him as a preſent to my Colonel, who is diſtractedly fond of dogs, and will in return give me a very ſtrong recommendation; but I have all my life been a very fortunate fellow; viens, mon petit Azor, baiſe ton maitre: Oh, il eſt impayable *!"

"You ſay you have two children," ſaid I. "Yes, citizen," replied he, "and both by my wife."

"I do not underſtand," reſumed I, "how you could maintain a wife and two children on the pay of a dragoon." "Ce qui eſt impoſſible n'eſt pas aiſé à comprendre, Citoyen †," anſwered he; "but the truth is, it was my wife who maintained me and the

* Come, my little Azor—kiſs your maſter. O, he is a treaſure!

† What is abſolutely impoſſible, is not eaſily underſtood.

children: ſhe is a very induſtrious woman, and uſed to get three livres ten ſols for making a ſhirt, when ſhe made for people of quality; but at preſent, when there are no people of quality, ſhe receives only forty ſols for each ſhirt. Je ne me plains pas, parce que je ſuis bon Patriote moi—mais il y a une grande difference entre 40 ſ. et trois livres dix. Malgré cela j'ai toujours eu du bonheur."

" Eh votre main," ſaid the Courier.

" Ma main—ma main," anſwered the dragoon;—" ça pouvoit être mon bras: un de mes camarades à deux pas de moi a eu la cuiſſe emportée—eſt-ce que le General Kellermann n'a pas eu auſſi un cheval tué ſous lui?—c'eſt une plus grande perte que mes f—doigts pour le General. Ainſi vous voyez, Citoyen, combien j'ai toujours été heureux *."

We

* I do not complain—becauſe I am a good Patriot—but

We were indebted to the high ſpirits and gaiety of this young fellow, for keeping us in tolerable good humour during two hours that we remained in this wretched place; the horſes being all the time expoſed to the rain, for there was no ſtable.

Our Courier of the Cabinet mean while was bluſtering and ſwearing at the ſentinel on the rampart, who could not immediately find any body to ſend to the Magiſtrates for an order to open the gates—for there was no regular garriſon at this time in Cambray; and when the order was obtained, a good deal of time was loſt before the man who kept the keys could be rouſed.

—but there is a great difference between 40 ſols and three livres ten. In ſpite of that, however, I have always been fortunate.

What ſay you to the wound in your hand?

My hand—why, I ſay, it might have been my whole arm: one of my comrades, within two ſteps of me, had his thigh carried off; and had not General Kellermann a horſe killed under him? and that was a greater loſs to the General than my ſhabby fingers.—So you perceive that I have always been fortunate.

Three men armed with muſkets, but without uniforms, came at laſt, and informed us, that the gates were open. The Courier recommenced his bluſtering, and threatened the whole Municipality of Cambray with the vengeance of Dumourier. He alſo expreſſed a fear that the General would blame him for the delay.

The dragoon, who was of the happy diſpoſition to view every thing in the moſt favourable light, endeavoured to conſole him, ſaying, " Non ; Dumourier ne vous blamera pas : il eſt trop bon ſoldat pour ne pas ſavoir, que quand on ne peut pas prendre une ville d'aſſaut, il faut attendre qu'elle ſe rende *."

On entering Cambray, the Courier went directly to the town-houſe, and got a formal atteſtation of the time he had been de-

* Dumourier will not blame you : he is too good a ſoldier not to know, that when a town cannot be taken by aſſault, it is neceſſary to wait till it ſurrenders.

tained

tained at the gate, to ſhew to Dumourier, as an excuſe for his delay—and immediately proceeded on his journey, accompanied by the dragoon.

As no gate was allowed to be opened except that at which they went out, we were detained two or three hours longer, till the uſual time of throwing open all the gates.

We paſſed through Douay, and arrived the ſame evening at this town.

We have viſited the quarter where the Auſtrians formed their entrenchments and batteries, from which the town was bombarded: a large village, near which the entrenchments were formed, was, before the main body of the Auſtrian army advanced, unexpectedly ſurrounded by their light troops; and, as we are told, the wretched inhabitants, with many more peaſants driven there by the body of the army, were forced to work in the trenches, ſo that the fire from the ramparts deſtroyed a much greater num-

ber of the country people than of the ſoldiers.

The anſwer returned by the municipality to the ſummons of Prince Albert of Saxony, was firm and laconic.

" Nous venons de renouveller notre ſerment, d'être fideles à la nation, de maintenir la liberté et l'égalité, ou de mourir à notre poſte. Nous ne ſommes point des perjures*.

" Fait à la Maiſon Commune, le 29 Septembre 1792, l'an 1. de la République Francaiſe.

" Le Conſeil permanent de la Commune de Lille.

(Signé) ANDRE, Maire.
ROHART, Secretaire-Greffier."

* We have juſt renewed our oath of fidelity to the nation, that we are determined to maintain liberty and equality, or to die at our poſt.

We are reſolved not to be perjured.

The

The bombs and red hot bullets were particularly directed againſt that part of the town where the poorer inhabitants lived, with the double purpoſe of ſparing the moſt valuable buildings in a city, which, as was expected, was ſoon to belong to the Emperor, and alſo to excite the moſt numerous claſs of the inhabitants againſt the rich, and make them force the commander to deliver up the town. It had no ſuch effect, however, and the enthuſiaſm of the inhabitants increaſed every hour. The courage and alacrity of the inhabitants in ſeizing and removing the hot bullets before they had time to kindle the wood was ſurpriſing. They had iron inſtruments contrived for that purpoſe; and the towns of Armentiers, Bethune, Arras, Dunkirk, Caſſel, Cambray and others ſent their engines for extinguiſhing fire, to Lille, and volunteers from all thoſe cities preſented themſelves in great

numbers for the defence of the place; which obliged the Auſtrians to retreat from the town, after having beaten down by the bombardment three complete ſtreets in the quarter of St. Sauveur, and many other houſes in different parts of the town, which ſtill remain in ruins. There are few houſes into which ſome bullets have not entered, and they are kept as precious relicks by the inhabitants.

In the hotel de Bourbon, twenty bullets entered during the ſiege; and the mark of the burning on the floor, occaſioned by one of them in the room where I now write, is very evident: but no perſon was killed belonging to the family, except the chief waiter, as he was croſſing the ſquare to put a letter into the poſt-office.

A poor fellow who is decrotteur to the hotel, told me that it was owing to the watchful care and mercy of Providence, that he happened to be out of the way when that

letter

letter was ſent; for otherwiſe, as he uſually carried the letters to the poſt-office, he *himſelf* might have been killed inſtead of the waiter.

I do not know whether it will be conſidered as a ſign that a ſenſe of religion is declining among the French, that the beggars in aſking charity no longer add *pour l'amour de Dieu*, but inſtead of that, generally cry *Vive la nation*; but that religious ſentiments are becoming every day weaker on the minds of the common people of this country, is moſt apparent; but it never occurred to me, that one order of ſociety was gaining in that article, what another was loſing. A friend of mine told me, however, that he was this forenoon in a bookſeller's ſhop; that having obſerved the ſhelves of one ſide entirely filled with books of devotion, he had aſked of the bookſeller, if books of that kind were in much requeſt at preſent.

"A good

"A good deal," replied the bookſeller, "with the ariſtocrates: as for the patriots, they hardly ever look into them."

"The reaſon of that," reſumed my friend, "perhaps is, that the patriots being the poorer have not money to lay out on books."

"They uſed to purchaſe them formerly," ſaid the bookſeller; "and it is only ſince the ariſtocrates became poor, that many of them began to purchaſe them at all."

How far the bookſeller's account of this matter is to be depended on I know not; but it is a lamentable truth that a great proportion of mankind think very little of the next world, till the preſent becomes inſupportable to them. And with regard to the inhabitants of this country, it muſt be acknowledged that the revolution has been hitherto ſo wretchedly managed, as to render the higher orders of ſociety miſerable, without making the lower happy.

Although my Journal is continued until the 14th of December, when I returned to England, I omit the remainder, that I may inſert what will be thought more intereſting.

Some of the following particulars relative to the King's proceſs, and the treatment which he and his family met with in the Temple, I learnt while I was in France; others I have been informed of ſince my return in England. I imagine the whole may be placed with propriety at this place, with an account of the King's death.

With whatever irregularity, precipitation and injuſtice the proceſs againſt the King will be thought to have been carried on, it was with much difficulty and perſonal danger, to one party of the Convention, that it was ſo long protracted. I have reaſon to believe that ſome of the Convention regretted

gretted exceedingly the precipitate decree which aboliſhed royalty, and were convinced that it would have equally tended to the happineſs and laſting freedom of France, if the Convention had reſtored the King and re-eſtabliſhed the conſtitution, with ſuch alterations as might have been thought expedient.

I have reaſon to believe that there was a ſtill greater number of the members who were of opinion, that after the republican form of government was decreed, the moſt equitable and moſt politic meaſure which the Convention could adopt, was to declare that they would make no inquiry whether the King had been in correſpondence with the enemy or not; becauſe, at any rate, the nation was determined on a republican form of government, and therefore ſhould order the whole Royal family to be eſcorted to the frontiers, and permitted to go wherever they judged proper, with an

annual penſion of at leaſt one hundred thouſand louis, to be regularly paid as long as they ſhould live in tranquillity, without exciting war againſt France, or a civil war in it for their reſtoration; revoking at the ſame time the decree againſt Savoy, and renewing their original declaration, againſt extending their dominions and offenſive war of any kind.

That part of the Convention who were of either of thoſe opinions, with all who were deſirous of ſaving the King, finding it dangerous to avow their ſentiments, endeavoured by various means to prevent a trial, until the public mind ſhould be ſo much ſoftened as to admit of a fair trial, or till the idea of trial ſhould diſſipate altogether. When this failed, they attempted to carry the ſentence of confinement during the war, and exile after it: when that failed, they tried the appeal to the primary aſſemblies; and finally, they endeavoured to ſave

him

him by voting to poſtpone the execution of the ſentence.

Inſtead of thoſe evaſive meaſures, the nobler part would have been, no doubt, to have voted him not guilty at the firſt nominal appeal.

I do not know that this was the opinion of any of them; but I have heard ſeveral of them declare, that they thought the King's life fully protected by the Conſtitution, and that he could not be juſtly condemned to death, although all were proved which was laid to his charge, which in their opinion was not the caſe.

The violent party againſt the King, on the other hand, took great pains and uſed many arts, both within and without the Aſſembly, to have all forms of proceſs cut ſhort by a bloody and ſudden cataſtrophe.

Legendre propoſed that all thoſe who had publiſhed their opinions, or put them in writing, ſhould lay them on the table of the Aſſembly;

Aſſembly; and that after the intervention of one day, the Convention ſhould pronounce ſentence witnout hearing the King.

Robeſpierre was for ending the whole in twenty-four hours without ſeparating.

St. André declared that the King had been judged and condemned by the people on the 10th of Auguſt, and that the Convention had nothing to do but to order his execution.

It was dreaded by ſome who wiſhed the death of the monarch, that his appearance at the bar of the Convention would ſoften the people, and perhaps move them in his favour; and when they found that others of their own party, who were equally the enemies of the King, were determined that he ſhould be heard, they imagined means of the moſt profligate nature to prevent it.

Papers were cried through the ſtreets to inflame the minds of the populace to ſuch a degree, that they ſhould inſiſt on his immediate execution; and if

that was delayed, to execute him themſelves, either in priſon or when he ſhould be carried to the Aſſembly. It was aſſerted that the country never could be happy whiſe he lived; that all the misfortunes of the country, all the diſtreſs the people ſuffered, and the ſtill greater with which they were threatened, proceeded from the King's being ſuffered to live; that a party in the Convention, namely, the Gironde and the friends of Roland and Briſſot, were bribed by the Powers at war with France, to ſave the King, and prolong the diſtreſſes of France; and that although they durſt not openly in the Convention deny that he was criminal, and deſerved death, yet they were endeavouring, under various pretexts, to prolong his proceſs, and delay his execution, till an opportunity occurred to re-eſtabliſh him on the throne.

The moſt abſurd aſſertions were made in the Convention itſelf to this tendency. At one time, a little before I left Paris, when

there

there was a diſcuſſion concerning the ſcarcity of grain, which by different members was imputed to different cauſes, I heard a voice pronounce, *La véritable cauſe eſt dans le Temple.* I was informed that this wiſe obſervation came from Legendre.

Hand-bills were diſtributed with theſe words: " Républicains, guillotinez moi Louis XVI. et l'Autrichienne ſi vous voulez avoir du pain." And the printed opinion of Marat was ſold at the ſame time.

When the Royal Family were firſt lodged in the Temple, they were treated with ſome degree of reſpect, and they were allowed the comfort of each other's company, and the liberty of walking in the garden of the Temple; but the appearance of reſpect gradually diminiſhed, and at laſt the treatment they received was in many inſtances brutal.

A perſon who was admitted into the Temple by the means of a near relation on duty there about the beginning of De-

cember, assured me, that at the hour at which, by a standing order from the Council, the prisoners were to be confined to their apartments, he saw the keeper go to the King, who was still walking in the garden, and address him in these words: "*Allons, monsieur Veto, il faut monter.*"

When the Royal Family dined, a Commissioner from the Commune of Paris was always present. The Queen happened at one time to raise the hand in which she held her knife a little suddenly towards her breast.—The Commissioner seemed alarmed, and made a movement as if he dreaded that she had an intention against her life; which the Queen observing, said with emphasis: "Non, Monsieur, je réserve cet honneur aux Francois*."

From the time that the King's process was resolved upon, the Royal Family were

* I reserve that honour to the Convention.

confined

confined more closely, and watched more strictly than ever. The Council ordered that in future two Commissioners should pass the night in his bed-chamber, instead of one, which had been the case before. All persons who were admitted into the presence of any of the Royal Family were previously searched. Orders were given that the razors with which the King was in the use of shaving himself should be removed: this was done from a fear that he might prefer suicide to the humiliation of a public trial before the Convention.

Such an idea was remote from the King's way of thinking. When his razors and penknife were demanded from him, "Do you think me such a coward as to kill myself?" said he.

The order not only comprehended knives and razors, but also sciſſars, and all instruments contondant, tranchant et *piquant*, and it was extended to all the Royal Family.

"Il faudroit auſſi nous enlever nos aiguilles," ſaid the Queen when it was read to her.

When the King, afterwards, repeatedly applied for a razor, it was at laſt granted by the Council, who directed, however, that he ſhould ſhave himſelf under the inſpection of the Commiſſioners: and the Queen and Princeſs Elizabeth were allowed ſciſſars to pare their nails with the ſame reſtriction. This laſt ſeems ridiculous, and the former abſurd; for if the King had had any intention of uſing a razor in the manner they ſuſpected, he could have put it in execution as effectually while the Commiſſioners were preſent as at any other time.

After a long and warm debate, it was decreed by the Convention, that the King ſhould be brought to their bar; that the act of accuſation ſhould be read to him; that the Preſident ſhould put certain queſtions to him, which were previouſly drawn up by the committee,

committee, and approved of by the Aſſembly; and that after his anſwers had been taken down, a day ſhould be appointed for hearing him finally, and pronouncing judgment. It was alſo decreed that the opinions of the Deputies ſhould be taken by the appel nominal.

This mode was violently inſiſted on by the faction of the Mountain, in the hopes that ſome, whoſe conſciences acquitted him, might, from a terror of the mob, be induced to pronounce againſt him.

Had the opinion of the Convention been taken in the uſual way, it would have been leſs under the influence of fear; but the moſt certain method of getting the unbiaſſed judgment of the deputies, would have been by ballot: had that been adopted, there would probably have been a majority in favour of the King, even on the firſt general queſtion of guilty or not; and there is no doubt but it would have been carried by a

great majority againſt the pains of death, if the firſt queſtion had been loſt.

In the mean time, the King knew nothing of its being decreed that he ſhould appear at the bar of the Convention. In an extract from the report of the Commiſſioners that were on ſervice at the Temple on that day, the following particulars are mentioned:—

The King roſe as uſual at ſeven; he ſpent only a few minutes in dreſſing, and about three quarters of an hour in prayer. At eight the drums were heard; he enquired of the Commiſſioners what was the meaning of it, as he had not before heard them ſo early.

The Commiſſioners pretended ignorance. "Do you not think," rejoined the King, "that they beat the general?" The Commiſſioners replied, they could not diſtinguiſh. The King walked muſing through the room, and ſometimes ſtood liſtening attentively. "I think

think I hear the ſound of horſes' feet in the court," ſaid he. The Commiſſioners gave no explanation.

The Royal Family breakfaſted together that morning; they were full of alarm and diſquietude at the noiſe, which increaſed every moment, and of which they plainly perceived the cauſe was carefully concealed from them.

Uncertainty in ſuch circumſtances agitates the mind more than a full aſſurance of the worſt; the Queen and Princeſſes went to their own apartments after breakfaſt, and left the Prince Royal with the King. The Commiſſioners at laſt informed him, that he was about to receive a viſit from the Mayor of Paris.—"So much the better," ſaid the King. "But I muſt inform you," reſumed the Commiſſioner, "that he cannot ſpeak to you in the preſence of your ſon." The King then, after preſſing the child to his breaſt, deſired him to go and embrace

his mother in his name. Clery, the valet who attended the King, withdrew with the Prince.

The King aſked the Commiſſioner, "if he knew what the Mayor's buſineſs with him was," and was anſwered in the negative. He walked about the room for ſome time, ſtopping at intervals to aſk queſtions reſpecting the perſon and character of the Mayor. The Commiſſioner anſwered, "that he was not particularly acquainted with him, but that he was of a good character, and, to the beſt of his recollection, of a middle age, thin, and rather tall. The King ſeated himſelf in a chair; and continued abſorbed in meditation. Meanwhile the Commiſſioner had moved behind the chair on which the King was ſeated. When he awaked from his reverie, not ſeeing any body, he turned ſuddenly round, and perceiving the Commiſſioner cloſe behind him, ſaid with quickneſs, "What do you want,

Sir?"

Sir?" "Nothing," replied the other; "but fearing you were indiſpoſed, I approached to know what ailed you*."

Monſieur Chambon, the Mayor, entered ſoon after, and informed the King, that he came to conduct him to the National Convention: the King accompanied him without making any objection. When he came to the court, which was full of troops, horſe as well as foot, he ſeemed ſurpriſed at ſeeing ſome of them in uniforms with which he was unacquainted.

Before he ſtepped into the Mayor's coach, he threw up his eyes to the window of the apartment in which his family were confined, and the tears were obſerved to trickle down his cheeks.

* Theſe particulars, which ſome may think of a nature too trifling and minute, ſtrongly paint the ſtate of agitation and ſuſpicion, in which the mind of the unhappy Monarch was at this time.

The coach then proceeded to the Convention, attended by the troops.

The Commiſſioner aſcended to the Queen's apartment, and found the whole family overwhelmed with fear and ſorrow. He acquainted them that the Mayor had been with the King: the young Prince had already informed them: "We know that," ſaid the Queen; "but now—where have they carried the King now?" "To the Convention," replied the Commiſſioner. "You would have ſaved us much uneaſineſs," ſaid the Princeſs Elizabeth, "if you had informed us of this ſooner."

What dreadful apprehenſions muſt this Princeſs have been under, to find any relief in hearing that her brother was carried before an Aſſembly of men ſo prejudiced againſt him as ſhe knew the Convention to be!

The King was conducted to the Convention

vention by the Boulevards, la rue neuve des Capucines, la place Vendôme, et la cour des Feuillans. All the ſtreets which open to the Boulevards had guards ſtationed in them, with orders to prevent a multitude from aſſembling; and cannon were placed at the entrance of all thoſe ſtreets; patrols were ordered to prevent any kind of obſtruction by groups, or carriages, along the whole of the way that the King was to be conducted. Strong guards were placed at different poſts near the Tuileries and Hall of the Aſſembly. It is ſaid there were near 100,000 men in arms that day in Paris.

The glaſſes of the coach were down during the whole way, and there was no diſturbance. Great numbers however were waiting, in all the paſſages leading to the Aſſembly, and the tribunes had been filled from ſix in the morning. It was remarked, that Marat was dreſſed in a new ſuit; and

that

that his features announced ſatisfaction and good humour, which was conſidered as ſtill a greater rarity.

The act of Accuſation having been read, ſome of the Deputies mentioned circumſtances, which they thought of importance, that had been omitted. Drouet, the poſtmaſter, who was the cauſe of the King's being ſtopped at Varennes, had been elected a Deputy to the Convention for that ſervice. He thought this a good opportunity to diſtinguiſh himſelf as an orator—"Lewis," ſaid he, "is a *cheat* (fourbe), and wiſhed to impoſe upon the nation, in ſaying that he intended to go to Montmedi, for the villain (ſcelerat) was expected at the Abbaye d'Orvalle; and the traitor knew that a detachment of huſſars were waiting for him a few leagues from Varennes: *the monſter* then had the intention, &c. &c. &c."

This was more than his audience, prejudiced as it was againſt the King, could bear; the poſt-maſter

poſt-maſter was obliged to ſtop in the middle of his abuſive career, his voice being ſtifled by an univerſal murmur *.

It was announced by the Preſident, that from the moment that Lewis ſhould appear at the bar, no petition ſhould be heard, no motion of any kind made, no ſign of approbation or diſapprobation given, but a profound ſilence maintained. When Lewis appears, exclaimed Legendre, " *il faut qu'il regne ici le ſilence des tombeaux.*" This brutal inſinuation had no better ſucceſs than the eloquence of Drouet.

Marat, however, had the fairneſs to declare, that, in his opinion, the King ought not to be queſtioned about any thing previous to his acceptance of the Conſtitution: this is ſo evident, that it is won-

* When Drouet was in the middle of his harangue, a gentleman aſked one of the Deputies, who he was: " Monſieur," replied the Deputy, " c'eſt un Maître de Poſte, qui a voulu faire claquer ſon fouet bien mal-à-propos."

derful

derful it was left to Marat to make the obſervation, and more ſo that it was difregarded when made.

Other propoſals were made by other members, and ſome adopted: at about one o'clock the Aſſembly were informed, that the King was in the Chambre des Conférences; on which Barrere, the Preſident, having reminded the Aſſembly and audience of the ſilence they ought to maintain, deſired that he might be conducted to the bar.

An awful ſilence prevailed; every eye was fixed on the door at which he entered. The King appeared with a ſerene air and undiſturbed countenance. The ſpectators betrayed great emotion.

After a ſhort interval, Barrere addreſſed him: "Lewis, the French Nation accuſe you of having committed various crimes to re-eſtabliſh tyranny on the ruins of liberty; the National Convention has decreed

that

that you ſhall be tried—and the Members who compoſe it are to be your Judges. You will hear the accuſation read, after which you will anſwer to the queſtions which ſhall be propoſed."

To this the King made no reply.

The general Act of Accuſation was then read, after which the Preſident repeated the firſt article of accuſation, and added, "Lewis, what have you to anſwer?" On which the King gave his anſwer, and the Preſident proceeded to read the ſecond article, and demanded the King's anſwer in the ſame words; and ſo on, until the whole of the articles were finiſhed.

During this examination, ſome new queſtions occurred to the Committee, which were put in writing, and handed to the Preſident, who put them in the ſame manner to the King, and received his anſwers.

The King's behaviour during the whole of his appearance in the Convention was calm,

calm, recollected, and that of a man reſigned to the neceſſity of circumſtances, without the conſciouſneſs of guilt; his anſwers were ſenſible, pertinent, and prompt. He never loſt his compoſure, except in one inſtance, when the Preſident read the following ſtrange accuſation: "You diſtributed money among the populace for the treacherous purpoſe of acquiring popularity, and enſlaving the nation."

The perverſion of his very benevolence into a crime, aſtoniſhed the unfortunate Monarch, and deprived him for a moment of the power of utterance—he ſhed tears—but a conſciouſneſs of the purity of his intentions rendered them tears of comfort. "I always took pleaſure," ſaid he, "in relieving thoſe in want, but never had any treacherous purpoſe."

Upon the whole, when it is conſidered that the queſtions were deliberately drawn up by a Select Committee, and afterwards

corrected

corrected and enlarged by the whole Convention, while the King's anſwers were given extempore, and without even a previous knowledge that he was to be examined in that manner, it places his underſtanding in a very advantageous point of view.

To keep the King ignorant to the laſt of any intention of examining him, and then hurry him unprepared to their bar, was ungenerous and ſhameful in the higheſt degree—it might have diſconcerted him in ſuch a manner as to have given ſcope to malice; his enemies would have imputed to conſcious guilt that diſorder in his anſwers and conduct, which ſurpriſe or indignation might naturally have produced:—and it is impoſſible not to ſuſpect that the ſecrecy was employed for that very purpoſe. If ſo, all thoſe enemies have been diſappointed; the malignity by which

they attempted to obſcure his character, has only ſerved to put it in a fairer light.

When the King had anſwered all the queſtions, the original papers on which part of the accuſation was founded were laid on the table. Valazé taking them up one by one, and reading the title, ſaid, as he preſented each to the King, "Louis Capet, la reconnoiſſez-vous?" If the King anſwered that he knew it, Valazé ſaid, "Louis la reconnoit;" and the Preſident repeated, "La piece eſt reconnue." If the King diſavowed it, they ſaid, "Louis ne la reconnoit pas—La piece n'eſt pas reconnue."

The King diſavowed many of them. When the whole had been inveſtigated in this manner, the Preſident addreſſing the King ſaid, "I have no other queſtions to propoſe—have you any thing more to add in your defence?" "I deſire to have a copy of the accuſation," replied the King, "and

of the papers on which it is founded.—I alſo deſire to have a Counſel of my own nomination." Barrere informed him, that his two firſt requeſts were already decreed, and that the determination reſpecting the other would be made known to him in due time.

After which the King withdrew, and was conducted back to the Temple in the ſame carriage, and with the ſame attendants that he had when he came to the Aſſembly. The crowd in the ſtreets was greater than in the morning; the continued cries of "Vive la Republique!" accompanied the coach from the Aſſembly Hall to the Temple, and the cry "A la Guillotine!" was alſo heard more frequently than in the morning, but leſs ſo than was expected by thoſe who had taken ſo much pains to irritate the populace againſt him.

In the coach, the King aſked Chaumet, the Procureur Syndic, "if he thought the Convention would allow him to have Coun-

This man, by the account which he afterwards gave of what paſſed, anſwered ſhortly, "that his duty was to conduct him to and from the Aſſembly, and not to anſwer queſtions."

When he arrived at the Temple, and was in his apartment, he ſent a meſſage, deſiring to ſpeak to the Mayor, who, being in his carriage and ready to drive away, immediately obeyed the ſummons, and aſcended to the King's chamber. "I hope," ſaid he to Chambon, "that you will not delay to let me know, whether I am allowed Counſel." The Mayor replied, "that he might rely upon being informed as ſoon as poſſible; adding, that he was perſuaded the Convention were too juſt to refuſe to him what the law allowed to all."

Every member of the Convention was not of the ſame way of thinking with the Mayor: about thirty or forty Deputies of the faction called the Mountain were againſt

againſt granting that requeſt, and oppoſed it by the moſt indecent clamours; but finding their efforts vain, they next inſiſted that he ſhould be allowed only one perſon for Counſel. The great majority on the contrary were for allowing him three: the debate became ſo tumultuous, that the Preſident was obliged to put on his hat *: the Mountain was at laſt obliged to relinquiſh this ſhameful attempt; and it was decreed that the King ſhould have Counſel, without limiting the number, and that a meſſage ſhould inſtantly be ſent to inform him of this. One of thoſe who had oppoſed his having any Counſel, propoſed that two of the ſervants of the Aſſembly (huiſſiers) ſhould carry this meſſage; but the Convention ordered four of their members for that purpoſe.

After the Mayor left the Temple, the

* This is a ſignal to order, never given but in caſes of great confuſion, and is generally obeyed.

King immediately examined the *Conſtitution*, of which he had a copy, and ſaid to the Commiſſioner, who was now alone with him, "Yes, I find that the law allows me Counſel; but may I not alſo be allowed the ſatisfaction of having my family with me?" The Commiſſioner anſwered, "that he did not know, but would go and conſult the Committee." He went accordingly, and returned ſoon after; he informed the King that he could not ſee his family.—"That is hard," ſaid the King.—"But my ſon, they will not deny me the comfort of his company at leaſt—he is a child, Sir, of only ſeven years of age."

"The Committee have declared," replied the Commiſſioner, "that you ſhall have no communication with your family—Your ſon is of your family."

The Commiſſioner left the King, and went to the Queen's apartment, where all the Royal family were. The Queen immediately

aſked,

aſked, if they might not all wait on the King, who they knew was returned from the Convention. The Commiſſioner gave the ſame anſwer he had given to the King.—"At leaſt," ſaid the Queen, "let him have the company of this child; pray allow his ſon to go to him." The Commiſſioner replied, "that as the child could not be with both, it was beſt that the perſon who might be ſuppoſed to have the greateſt courage ſhould ſuffer the privation: beſides," he added, "a child of that age has more need of the care of a mother than of a father."

The following day the four Deputies informed the Convention of their having been with the King, and that he had named Target and Tronchet as his Counſel.

Tronchet accepted, declaring at the ſame time, that he was aware of the delicacy and danger of the office, which humanity to a man, over whoſe head the ſword of juſtice hung, impoſed on him—and for which, in all events, he would accept of no recompenſe.

Target wrote a letter to the Preſident of the Convention, excuſing himſelf on account of his age and infirmities, and deſiring that his letter might be ſent to the King, that he might chooſe another.

This afforded ſome Members of the Aſſembly a freſh opportunity of diſplaying their diſpoſition—they complained of the incidents which continually occurred to retard the final iſſue of the proceſs. Oſſelin * ſaid, that one Counſel might refuſe after another, to the loſs of much precious time, and therefore propoſed that the Convention ſhould name Counſel for the King, whom he muſt either accept, or find others within twenty-four hours.

This revolted the greater part of the Aſſembly; and when it was aſked, how it could be imagined that the King could place confidence in thoſe of their nomination, Tallien ſaid with a rancour that well ac-

* This ſame Oſſelin was Preſident of the Criminal Tribunal of the 17th of Auguſt!

corded

corded with his character, "Qu'il s'arrange, qu'il trouve des Conſeils qui acceptent; c'eſt ſon affaire; la nôtre eſt de venger la Majeſté nationale *."

Vermond and Rabaut de St. Etienne ſpoke againſt this ſavage precipitation; another propoſed to adjourn: Thuriot, and Bentabole, the ſame who had accompanied Marat on his viſit to Dumourier, oppoſed the adjournment. "Do tyrants ever adjourn their vengeance againſt the people?" ſaid Legendre, "and yet you talk of adjourning the juſtice of the people againſt a tyrant." This argument was well ſuited to the underſtandings and inclinations of the audience in the galleries, and met with their applauſe.

In the mean time, a deputation from the Council of the Commune of Paris came to communicate to the Convention a decree which they had paſſed regarding the mea-

* He muſt do the beſt he can, he muſt find thoſe who will accept, that is his buſineſs; it is ours to avenge the Majeſty of the Nation.

ſures

ſures they thought neceſſary to follow in the preſent circumſtances. By this decree, the King was to have no communication with his family:—his valet de chambre was to be locked up with him, and to have no intercourſe with any body elſe:—his Counſel were to be ſtrictly examined (ſcrupuleuſement examinés, fouillés juſqu'aux endroits les plus ſecrets). After having thrown off the clothes in which they entered, they were to be dreſſed in others provided for them in the Temple, and under the inſpection of the Commiſſioners who attended the King, and were not to be allowed to leave the Temple till after ſentence was pronounced. It was alſo an article in this Decree, that the Counſel ſhould take an oath never to mention any thing they heard while in the Temple."

Decrees have ſometimes been propoſed and meaſures have been adopted, by theſe men, of ſuch a deteſtable and atrocious nature, that we are almoſt tempted to ſuſpect

that

that ſome individual among them is bribed to ſuggeſt and perſuade them into meaſures which muſt render them and their cauſe for ever odious and deteſtable. What could the enemies of civil liberty wiſh more, than that thoſe who call themſelves her friends ſhould act ſo as to ſhock common decency, and revolt all the feelings of humanity?

This abominable decree was with difficulty heard to the end; it excited the greateſt marks of diſguſt; there was a cry from all parts of the Aſſembly to annul the decree, and cenſure thoſe who made it. Robeſpierre had the courage to face this ſtorm; he declared that he was convinced that a very laudable ſpirit had dictated the decree,—"which," added he, "is perhaps too mild for the occaſion." This declaration produced violent murmurs, and many voices were heard exclaiming—"*Hors de la tribune!*"

"I know," reſumed he, "that there is a party

party in this Aſſembly for ſaving the traitor; but I am ſurpriſed that thoſe who ſhew ſo much tenderneſs and ſympathy for an oppreſſor, have none for the good people whom he oppreſſed."

This gained the galleries in an inſtant, and they reſounded with applauſe.

Several Members however put the inquiſitorial and ſhameful Decree of the Commune in a juſt light; and conjured the Aſſembly, in the name of decency, humanity, and juſtice, to annul it; which was carried.

The Convention were afterwards informed, that ſeveral people had offered to be Counſel for the King; all of whom he had refuſed except M. Maleſherbes and M. Tronchet, who having been at the Temple and admitted into the King's preſence, on the 14th, found that he had not then received any of the papers he had demanded.

Monſieur de Lamoignon-Maleſherbes is a man of an amiable and reſpectable cha-

racter of diſtinguiſhed ſenſe, probity, and learning; of one of the chief families of that is called The Robe in France; he is grandſon of the Chancellor Lamoignon, who was an intimate friend of Boileau, Racine, and other men of genius in the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth.

The preſent Monſieur de Maleſherbes diſtinguiſhed himſelf towards the end of the reign of Lewis XV. by ſome very eloquent and courageous remonſtrances which he drew up when he was firſt Preſident of the *Cour des Aides*, and for which he was baniſhed.

In the beginning of the reign of Lewis XVI. he ſucceeded Monſieur de St. Florentin in the Miniſtry; but afterwards, for reaſons which are variouſly ſtated, he deſired and obtained leave to retire.

This reſpectable man is ſeventy-two years of age; his generous offer to be Counſel for the King gains him the applauſe of the public, and forms a contraſt greatly in his favour

favour with the cautious conduct of M. Target, which has been condemned by all parties. — Even the fiſhwomen of Paris marked the difference, went in a body and hung garlands of flowers and laurel on the gate of Monſieur de Maleſherbes, and afterwards proceeded to the houſe of Monſieur Target, in the intention to inſult him in a manner peculiar to themſelves. Fortunately for him, he was advertiſed of their intention, and made his eſcape.

It is much to be wiſhed that all the Members of the Convention had been endowed with equal ſentiments of juſtice with theſe Poiſſardes. The diſcrimination diſplayed on this occaſion is a proof that the loweſt inhabitants of Paris are not devoid of ſentiments of generoſity; and that if they were acquainted with the real character of the King, the ſpirit of rancour which has been perfidiouſly raiſed againſt him would ſoon be turned againſt his perſecutors.

It will not be improper here to inſert an anecdote which does honour to the heart of this unfortunate Prince. Two Commiſſioners of very oppoſite diſpoſitions were with the King when the ſhocking exhibition of the head of Madame de Lamballe was made under his windows, on the third of September. One of thoſe men hearing the noiſe, and recogniſing the head, had the brutality to invite the King to come to the window, and he would ſee a very curious ſight. The King was advancing towards the window, when the other ran and withheld him, ſaying, the ſight was too ſhocking for him to ſupport.

The perſon to whom the King afterwards related theſe circumſtances, aſked the names of the two Commiſſioners. The King freely told him the name of the latter, but refuſed to mention that of the former—"becauſe," ſaid he, "it can do him no credit at any time; and might poſſibly at

ſome

ſome future period bring him to trouble.

As the benevolence of the King's diſpoſition appeared through the whole of his reign, his enemies have endeavoured to conceal and miſrepreſent every circumſtance of this kind. But notwithſtanding all the pains they have taken, ſo many proofs of his candour, moderation and integrity were known, that thoſe who wiſhed his death were in conſtant dread of a return of humanity and affection in the hearts of the people towards him; and therefore were at great pains to fill the tribunes with perſons hired to make an outcry againſt him: and they were ſo apprehenſive on this ſubject as to ſuſpect thoſe very agents of relenting.

When the King was indiſpoſed in the month of November, and the phyſician Lemonier ordered to viſit him, ſome ſymptoms of concern were manifeſted by the people, which alarmed the King's enemies greatly. It was reported and believed for one day,

that

that he was dead; I myſelf heard it inſinuated in a pretty large company that he was murdered; one perſon exclaimed with indignation—"Les ſcelerats l'ont empoiſonné *!"

The King's appearance in the Convention, the dignified reſignation of his manner, the admirable promptitude and candour of his anſwers, made ſuch an evident impreſſion on ſome of the audience in the galleries, that a determined enemy of Royalty, who had his eye upon them, declared that he was afraid of hearing the cry of Vive le Roi! iſſue from the tribunes; and added, that if the King had remained ten minutes longer in their ſight, he was convinced it would have happened: for which reaſon he was vehemently againſt his being brought to the bar a ſecond time.

The Commiſſioners who do duty at the Temple were cenſured for drawing up their

* The villains have poiſoned him!

reports ſo as to excite compaſſion, and were required to avoid this for the future. The thing was impoſſible, unleſs they had been permitted to falſify; for a bare relation of the facts, in the coldeſt language, muſt have produced the effect they wiſhed to prevent.

Terror has acted a principal part ſince the beginning of this Revolution—Terror firſt produced the emigrations, to which a great proportion of the miſeries which France has ſuffered are owing—Terror produced that ſhameful paſſiveneſs in the inhabitants of Paris and Verſailles during the maſſacres—Terror prevented ſympathy from appearing in the faces of many who felt it in their hearts for the unfortunate monarch, during this proceſs, and Terror at laſt pronounced the ſentence of his death.

Beſides the means already mentioned, of inflaming the populace by pamphlets and hand-bills, men were hired to mix with the groups, in the Palais Royal, and on the terrace

terrace of the Feuillans, to harangue on the neceſſity of condemning the King without farther form of proceſs: and ſome of theſe men went the length of aſſerting, that if the Convention did not, the people would take that buſineſs on themſelves, and afterwards execute the ſame juſtice on all the Deputies who ſhould vote for ſaving him.

All thoſe inhuman manœuvres did not prevent its being ſtrongly ſtated by ſome members in the Convention, that if the King's counſel were not allowed ſufficient time to prepare his defence, the decree by which counſel was granted to him would be conſidered as an inſult, and the trial a mockery.—It was alſo boldly aſſerted by one member, that "if rancour and mean ſelfiſh "views had not hardened the hearts of ſome "preſent, ſo plain and obvious a piece of "juſtice never would have afforded a mo- "ment's debate."—"It has been ſaid," added another, "that there are Royaliſts in the

" Convention. So there are; but they con-
" ſiſt of thoſe who puſh on the proceſs with
" royal fury and precipitation—men who
" are not for trying but butchering Lewis
" XVI, and thereby gratifying all the
" princes at war with the Republic, by
" raiſing a general indignation all over
" Europe, at the manifeſt cruelty and injuſ-
" tice of a Republican Aſſembly."

Theſe remonſtrances ſeem to have had ſome effect; for it was decreed, that the King ſhould be allowed till the 26th of December to prepare his defence.

It was alſo propoſed, that during this interval the King ſhould have a free intercourſe with his family.—This was no ſooner mentioned than it was aſſented to by the exclamations of a great majority of the Aſſembly. " You may decree this as much as you pleaſe," cried Tallien; " but if the Municipality do not chooſe it, he will be allowed to ſee none of them."

Here

Here this man's malice carried him farther than his accomplices approved; it was moved that he ſhould be cenſured, and that the cenſure ſhould be inſerted in the verbal proceſs: he attempted to avert this by a ſilly explanation, which proved ineffectual.

The Aſſembly ſeemed pretty generally diſpoſed to allow a free communication between the King and all his family, when Reubell aſſerted, that it would be highly improper to allow him any communication with the Queen and the Princeſs Elizabeth, who were involved in the accuſation, as there was reaſon to believe they had ſent their diamonds to their brothers, to help them to make war on the nation. On this deſpicable pretext the King was allowed to have intercourſe with his children only, and they were ordered to be kept ſeparate from their mother and aunt till the end of the proceſs.

It had been obſerved, that very few of

the real Bourgeoiſie of Paris could of late get acceſs to the tribunes, the places being pre-occupied by a ſet of hired vagabonds, generally the ſame every day: ſo that when the other departments complain of being under the controul of the ſingle city of Paris, they do not ſtate the grievance in its full magnitude. All the departments of France, including that of Paris, are, in reality, often obliged to ſubmit to the clamorous tyranny of a ſet of hired ruffians in the tribunes, who uſurp the name and functions of the Peuple Souverain, and, ſecretly directed by a few demagogues, govern this unhappy nation.

To remedy this, Manuel propoſed, that a certain number of tickets of admiſſion ſhould be ſent every day to the ſections to be diſtributed among the real citizens.—As this plan would have prevented certain manœuvres of the Mountain, that faction oppoſed it with great violence; the people in the galleries thundered againſt it; ſome

of

of them called out, " A l'Abbaye Manuel, à l'Abbaye l'ariſtocrate Manuel !" Legendre, the butcher, propoſed, that it ſhould be decreed, that Manuel had loſt his ſenſes.—This ſally, the fineſſe of which will not be apparent to all the world, was thought exquiſite by the people in the tribunes. When they had done with their applauſe, Manuel returned his thanks to Legendre, for not having moved that it ſhould be decreed that he was an ox; becauſe, if that had paſſed, Legendre might have thought he had a right to ſlaughter him.

Monſieur Deſeize was added to Meſſrs. de Maleſherbes and Tronchet, as a counſel for the King: the buſineſs they had to go through was too laborious for two perſons only, and the time allowed ſtill too ſhort.

From the report of one of the Commiſſioners we learn the following particulars, which, though minute, ſerve to illuſtrate the character of the King:—The Commiſſioners,

who were ordered on duty at the Temple, having, according to cuſtom, drawn lots for their different poſts, that of the King's apartment fell to a M. Cubieres, who, with another Commiſſioner, was introduced at eleven at night, the King being then aſleep. He roſe as uſual at ſeven, and took a book, which they afterwards found was a breviary;—breakfaſt was brought at nine, but the King refuſed to eat becauſe it was the faſt of Le Quatre Tems.—He ſpent ſome time in prayer, and afterwards aſked Cubieres about the health of the Queen and his ſiſter.—He walked muſing through the room; and then, raiſing his eyes to Heaven, "This day (ſaid he) my daughter is fourteen years of age." The unhappy Prince repeated the ſame expreſſion after a pauſe, during which the tears flowed from his eyes, and he was greatly agitated.

Monſieur de Maleſherbes and the other two counſel came, and he paſſed moſt of that day and the next with them, and with four

four deputies from the Convention, who came with papers relative to his trial.

One of the Commiſſioners ſaid to Malesherbes, in a converſation apart, that he was ſurpriſed to obſerve that he gave the Moniteur and other Journals to Lewis, becauſe he would by it become acquainted with many things very diſagreeable, and particularly to what a degree the people were prejudiced againſt him. Monſ. Maleſherbes replied, that the King (for he perſiſted in calling him the King) was of a ſtrong character, and beheld his misfortunes with magnanimity.

The Commiſſioner hinted to M. de Maleſherbes, that, by the free admiſſion he had to the King, he might, if he were not an honeſt man, furniſh him with poiſon.

"If I ſhould," replied M. de Maleſherbes, "the King is too ſincere a chriſtian to make uſe of it."

The reſolution of the Convention to try the King and to be themſelves his judges, aſtoniſhed

aſtoniſhed Europe, and was heard with ſorrow and indignation by the unfortunate natives of France, whom the violence of the late meaſures, or the fears of aſſaſſination, had driven from their country.

Some of them, diſtinguiſhed for their talents as well as for the offices they had held in their own country, were in England at this intereſting period, and ſhewed a ſtrong deſire of doing every thing in their power, in juſtification of a prince of whoſe innocence they all ſeemed fully convinced.

M. Louis de Narbonne, who had been Miniſter of War when the hoſtilities began between France and the Emperor, and from that circumſtance was enabled to throw great light on the ſubject, wrote to the Preſident of the Convention, offering to appear at the bar as one of the defenders of the King, provided a protection was ſent to make it ſafe for him to paſs and repaſs through France. The Convention paſſed

to the order of the day on this requeſt, without even allowing the reaſons which M. de Narbonne gave for its peculiar propriety to be read.

M. de Narbonne then drew up a declaration in juſtification of his Sovereign, which he tranſmitted to Meſſrs. Tronchet and Maleſherbes: from the laſt he received the following letter;

Paris, 31 Decembre 1792.

" J'ai reçu, Monſieur, votre lettre et la déclaration de vos ſentimens.

" Vous ne me mandez pas quel uſage vous voulez que j'en faſſe. Si c'eſt de la faire imprimer, ce ne peut pas être moi qui m'en charge, parce qu'étant le conſeil de celui qui fut mon Roi, je ne peux faire aucune démarche qui ne ſoit regardée comme faite par lui. Au reſte, votre déclaration ne peut avoir aucune influence ſur le jugement de la Convention Nationale, parce que à l'heure

l'heure où je vous écris, on procède au jugement.

" Il eſt poſſible que le jugement qu'on rendra, entraine une autre diſcuſſion en préſence de la nation. Ce ſera alors à vous de voir ſi vous croyez devoir faire paraître votre déclaration en faveur du plus malheureux et du plus vertueux des hommes.

" Quant à moi, ſi la cauſe ſe plaide devant la nation, je ſuis très déterminé à la ſoutenir, auſſi publiquement que je pourrai, quand même on prononcerait que je ne ſuis plus le défenſeur légal de l'innocent.

Dans ce cas-là, Monſieur, je vous préviens que je me ſervirai de pluſieurs articles de votre lettre ſans prétendre me les approprier, parce qu'il ne me ſerait pas poſſible de rendre auſſi bien que vous, pluſieurs grandes vérités, qu'il ſera important de mettre ſous les yeux de la nation.

" Mais la plus grande partie de votre dé-

claration concerne des faits qui vous ſont perſonnels, et que vous ſeul avez droit de certifier.

(Signé) MALESHERBES*.

" A Monſieur Louis de Narbonne, ancien Miniſtre de la Guerre de France, à Londres."

M. de

* I have received your letter, and the declaration of your ſentiments. You do not inform me what uſe you wiſh to be made of them. If you deſire to have them printed, I am not the perſon who can take upon me to do it; becauſe, being one of his counſel who was my King, whatever I do will be conſidered as done by him. Beſide, your declaration can have no influence on the deciſion of the National Convention, becauſe, at the very time I am writing, they are proceeding to judgment.

It is poſſible that the ſentence they will pronounce may occaſion another diſcuſſion in preſence of the whole nation. You will then conſider whether it will be proper for you to publiſh your declaration in favour of the moſt unfortunate and moſt virtuous of men. As for my part, if the cauſe ſhall be brought before the nation, I am reſolved to ſupport it as publicly as I can, even although they ſhould decide that I am no longer the legal defender of the innocent.

In

M. de Narbonne wrote the following anſwer to M. Maleſherbes :

" En m'annonçant, Monſieur, que vous avez reçu la déclaration que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous addreſſer, vous ſemblez déſirer que je vous indique l'uſage que je ſouhaite qui en ſoit faite. Permettez-moi de m'en rapporter ſur cela à votre courageuſe vertu, et ſoyez ſûr que j'apprendrai avec reconnoiſſance tout cé qui ſera fait par vous. Au moment du jugement de celui que je choiſirois avec orgueil et avec tranſport pour mon roi, je fis propoſer aux miniſtres Francois, actuellement en Angleterre, de ſe rendre ſur le champ à Paris, pour nous ranger autour de notre malheureux monarque. Ils

In that caſe, I ſhall avail myſelf of ſeveral articles in your letter, without alteration, becauſe it is not in my power to expreſs ſo well as you have done, certain great truths, which it will be of importance to lay before the nation.

But the greateſt part of your declaration conſiſts of facts perſonal to yourſelf, and which you alone have the right to certify.

(Signed) MALESHERBES.

crurent

crurent voir dans cette démarche, des inconvéniens pour ſa cauſe ; ils en trouvèrent également à écrire une lettre ſignée de nous tous, pour demander un ſauf-conduit qui nous mit à même de reclamer toute notre reſponſabilité. Je fus réduit à faire ſeul cette démarche, et ma lettre ne fut pas même lue par l'Aſſemblée. Il ne m'eſt donc reſté de moyen d'acquitter cette dette de ma conſcience, que par la déclaration à laquelle vous daignez donner quelque éloge.

" Ah ! c'eſt vous, Monſieur, et vos reſpectables collegues, qui les méritez toutes.

" Un de mes amis, Monſieur d'Arblay*, retiré avec moi à la campagne, a cru que la dépoſition qu'il vous a envoyée, pourroit être de quelque utilité dans une diſcuſſion ; il ſe joint à moi pour vous exprimer les mêmes ſentimens.

" J'ai l'honneur, &c. &c.

(Signé) L. de NARBONNE†."

* This is the ſame gallant officer of whom mention is made vol. i. p. 233.

† In informing me that you have received the declaration

M. de Narbonne afterwards received the letter which follows:

Maleſherbes, 29 Janvier, 1793.

"Votre lettre du 10 Janvier m'eſt arrivée,

ration which I had the honour to ſend to you, you ſeem to deſire that I ſhould acquaint you with the uſe I wiſh to be made of it. Allow me to leave it entirely to your intrepid virtue, and be perſuaded that I ſhall gratefully approve of what you think moſt proper.

At the moment of the trial of him, whom with pride and tranſport I would chooſe for my King, I ſent a propoſal to the French Miniſters, who are at preſent in England, that we ſhould immediately ſet out for Paris, and take our ſtand by the ſide of our unfortunate King.

They thought ſuch a meaſure would be prejudicial to his cauſe, and thought it would be equally ſo, to write a letter ſigned by us all, demanding a ſafe-conduct, which ſhould enable us to challenge the reſponſibility of our reſpective offices at the bar of the Convention. I was obliged to adopt this meaſure alone, but my letter was not ſo much as read in the Aſſembly; and no other means remained for me by which I could ſatisfy my conſcience, but the declaration on which you are pleaſed to beſtow ſome commendation. It is to you and your reſpectable colleagues that every praiſe is due. M. d'Arblay, one of my friends, who lives with me in the country, thinks that the depoſition which he ſends may be of ſervice; he joins me in expreſſing the ſame ſentiments.

I have the honour to be, &c.

rivée, Monſieur, à la campagne où je ſuis retiré depuis l'evenement.

" Vous ſavez ſûrement que la déclaration de vos ſentimens que vous m'avez envoyée manuſcrite a été imprimée. Je ne ſais pas ſur quelle copie a été faite cette impreſſion: je n'y ai eu aucune part. Le ſeul uſage que j'ai fait de votre lettre, et de la déclaration qui y était jointe, a été de les lire à celui que cela intéreſſait. Il en fut touché, et même attendri: il me recommanda de ne les pas publier par la crainte de vous compromettre; car il a eu, ſur cela, les attentions les plus ſcrupuleuſes juſqu'au dernier ſoupir. L'original fut remis par lui à un de mes collegues, qui deſira de l'avoir pour le relire à tête repoſée; et il m'a aſſuré qu'il n'eſt pas ſorti de ſes mains.

" J'ai l'honneur, Monſieur, de vous aſſurer de tout mon attachement.

(Signé) " MALESHERBES*."

* Your letter of the 10th of January I received in the country, where I have been ever ſince the *event*.

Le Comte de Lally-Tolendal had as early as the fifth of November addreſſed a letter to the Convention, requeſting to be permitted to plead the cauſe of the King at their bar, on which they alſo paſſed to the order of the day: and hearing afterwards that M. Target had declined to aſſiſt Monſieur de Maleſherbes in that honourable taſk, he repeated his requeſt to the Convention; but before this ſecond application arrived, the aſſociates of Monſieur de Maleſherbes were already appointed.

Monſieur de Lally, however, while he had the expectation that his offer would be ac-

You know undoubtedly that the declaration which you ſent me in manuſcript has been printed. I am ignorant from what copy this has been done; I had no hand in it. The only uſe I made of your letter, and of the declaration which came with it, was to read them to the perſon whom they moſt concerned. He was very much affected; he deſired me not to publiſh them, leſt it ſhould bring you to trouble; for on that head he obſerved the moſt ſcrupulous attention until his laſt moment. The original was delivered by him to one of my colleagues, who wiſhed to read it in more tranquillity. He aſſured me that it never was out of his poſſeſſion.

I have the honour, &c.

cepted,

cepted, had prepared a very eloquent defence of the King in the form of an addreſs to the Convention, which he publiſhed during the proceſs.

M. Cazales, who had been a Member of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, was at that time in London. This gentleman wrote a letter to Lewis XVI. requeſting, in caſe he ſhould ſo far acknowledge the juriſdiction of the Convention as to make a defence before their tribunal, that he would chooſe him for his advocate. M. Cazales urges ſome particular reaſons for this requeſt, that ſeem equally juſt and generous.

He addreſſed the Preſident of the Convention, that he might be allowed a ſafe-conduct to enable him to perform the honourable taſk which he had ſolicited, and was in hopes of obtaining leave to execute; adding, that he did not make this requeſt in the expectation of having his name effaced from the liſt of emigrants, for he gloried in parti-

cipating their political opinions and their misfortunes.

M. Cazales encloſed both theſe letters in one to Petion, the Mayor of Paris; begging him, after he had read them, to deliver the one to the King and the other to the Preſident of the Convention, and requeſting an anſwer as ſoon as poſſible from Petion.

This propoſal of M. Cazales was treated with the ſame neglect with the others. The Convention paſſed to the order of the day when it was laid before them.

It will, no doubt, be thought extraordinary that the Convention ſhould have made the ſmalleſt difficulty in admitting any body as the defender of the King who was agreeable to him; but what is much more extraordinary, and muſt be conſidered as a piece of ſtriking injuſtice, was, to intercept papers intended for his juſtification from reaching him, or thoſe who were charged with his defence. Yet this injuſtice, ſtriking as it ſeems,

was

was certainly exerciſed towards this unfortunate Prince.

M. Bertrand de Moleville, late Miniſter of the Marine, was obliged to conceal himſelf, and afterwards to fly to England, in conſequence of a decree of accuſation iſſued on the 16th of Auguſt againſt all the late Miniſters *.

Being at London when the King's proceſs began, and in poſſeſſion of facts which he thought might be of uſe for his juſtification, he tranſmitted them with the proofs to the Miniſter of Juſtice, requiring that they might be delivered to the King.

Afterwards, under cover to the ſame Miniſter, he addreſſed a packet of papers to M.

* This decree was inſtantly agreed to, on reading in the Aſſembly the note mentioned in Vol. I. page 278. M. de Bertrand was not acquainted either with M. Barnave or M. Lameth; he knew nothing of the note, which beſides was in itſelf of no importance. Yet it is evident, from what has ſince happened, that he has had a juſt notion of the diſpoſition of thoſe he had to deal with, and acted very wiſely in taking refuge in England.

de Maleſherbes, inſcribed *Pieces pour la Juſtification de Louis XVI.* and he wrote at the ſame time to M. de Maleſherbes, informing him of the two parcels which had been ſent.

Nothing can be conceived more ſacred than this depoſit in the hands of a Miniſter of Juſtice.

One of the abuſes complained of in the ancient government was, that the papers ſent to priſoners neceſſary for their defence, were ſometimes intercepted, and not delivered to them in time; the Conſtituent Aſſembly therefore had decreed, that accuſed perſons ſhould freely receive all papers or memorials for their defence within the ſpace of twenty-four hours.

M. de Bertrand muſt have been greatly ſurpriſed and ſhocked when he received the following letter from M. de Maleſherbes:

Paris, le 31 Octobre, 1792.

" Le Miniſtre de la Juſtice a reçu un paquet

quet de M. de Bertrand pour être remis à Louis XVI. et contenant des pieces pour ſa juſtification.

" Le Miniſtre n'ayant point de communication avec le priſonnier, a envoyé ce paquet à la Convention Nationale.

" Le même Miniſtre a reçu une lettre depuis du même M. Bertrand, adreſſée à moi, et il y avoit ſur l'adreſſe, Pieces pour la Juſtification de Louis XVI. Ces mots ont fait penſer au Miniſtre qu'il étoit auſſi obligé de renvoyer ce paquet devant la Convention Nationale. C'eſt ce que ce Miniſtre m'a dit quand j'ai été le réclamer.

" J'ai ſu que ces deux paquets avoient été renvoyés par la Convention à un comité; j'ai été à ce comité pour réclamer au nom de celui dont je ſuis le défenſeur, le paquet qui eſt pour lui, et en mon nom celui qui eſt pour moi. J'ai vu que les paquets avoient été ouverts; il y avoit des pieces imprimées, et dans un des paquets, qui n'eſt pas le mien,

des pieces manuſcrites qu'on ne m'a pas laiſſé lire, et qu'on m'a dit être des actes.

" On m'a remis ſans difficulté les imprimés que j'avois déjà : pour les manuſcrits, on n'a pas voulu me les remettre ſans avoir un ordre de la Convention Nationale.

" Quelqu'un du comité a été à la Convention, les pieces à la main, pour demander l'ordre. Il eſt revenu, et m'a dit que ſur ſa demande on a paſſé à l'ordre du jour. Mais il n'a point rapporté les pieces, et m'a dit qu'il les avoit laiſſées ſur le bureau. Il ne m'a pas parû qu'il ait fait conſtater, par aucun acte, que ces pieces qui étoient dans ſon depôt en étoient ſorties.

" J'ai demandé à ces M. M. comment je pourrois me pourvoir pour avoir ces pieces. Tout le monde s'eſt regardé, et perſonne ne m'a rien répondu.

" Voila où nous en ſommes. Je n'ai pas crû devoir inſiſter ſur cet objet auprès de la Convention,

Convention, pendant qu'elle eſt occupée à délibérer ſur le jugement de Louis.

(Signé) " MALESHERBES *."

* The Miniſter of Juſtice received a packet from M. de Bertrand, to be delivered to Lewis XVI. containing papers for his juſtification.

The Miniſter having no communication with the priſoner, ſent the packet to the Convention.

The ſame Miniſter has ſince received a letter from M. de Bertrand addreſſed to me, with a parcel entitled *Papers for the Juſtification of Lewis XVI.* Theſe words made the Miniſter think that it was his duty to deliver this packet alſo to the Convention. This is what the Miniſter told me when I waited on him to demand the papers.

Being informed that thoſe two packets had been tranſmitted by the Convention to a Committee, I attended that Committee to demand in the name of him whoſe Counſel I am, that which is for him, and in my own name the other which is addreſſed to me. I perceived that both packets had been opened. Some of the contents were in print; and in that packet which was not addreſſed to me, there were papers in manuſcript, which I was not permitted to read, and which they told me were acts.

They gave me without difficulty the papers which were in print, and which I had already: as for the manuſcripts, they did not chooſe to give me them without an order from the Convention.

A Member of the Committee having gone to the Convention

The language of this letter is very guarded; the writer has not allowed the ſentiments he muſt have felt at ſuch conduct to appear; but a ſimple detail of the facts is ſufficiently expreſſive.

M. de Bertrand, in a denunciation tranſmitted from London to the Convention, did not think the ſame caution neceſſary; he appeals in terms of juſt indignation to the reflection of the Convention on ſuch a flagrant breach of their own decrees, and

vention with the papers to obtain the order, returned and informed me, that on this requeſt they had paſſed to the order of the day; but he did not bring back the papers, telling me he had left them on the table of the Convention. It does not appear that he has aſcertained by any act that thoſe papers which were in his poſſeſſion were taken from him.

I requeſted of the Members of the Committee to inform me by what means I could recover thoſe papers. They all looked at each other, but none of them made any anſwer.

This is the preſent ſtate of things. I thought it would not be prudent to inſiſt on this, while the Convention were deliberating on the ſentence to be pronounced on Lewis.

deviation

deviation from every rule of common equity.

The Miniſter of Juſtice informed the Convention, on the 14th of January 1793, that he had received this denunciation of M. Bertrand; that he underſtood it was alſo publiſhed in the Courier de l'Europe, and the minute placed in the hands of the Lord Mayor of London.

One member obſerved, that Bertrand having emigrated, was dead in law—that a dead perſon could not be ſuppoſed to write or ſpeak. Another ſaid, that if the Convention ſhould beſtow attention on what appeared in newſpapers, they muſt neglect the buſineſs of their country: and the Miniſter of Juſtice declared, that he did not think it became him, as Miniſter of the Republic, to correſpond with a man who was not only an emigrant, but under a decree of accuſation: and Valazé, who was of the Committee, ſaid they were teaſed with the num-

ber of papers ſent to them; and that as for the manuſcripts which Bertrand mentions, he knew nothing of them, if they were not in a packet which the Committee had not thought it worth while to break open.

On this candid and ſatisfactory ſtate of the matter, the Convention paſſed to the order of the day; by which means the King's Counſel were precluded from the knowledge of certain facts, which M. de Bertrand thought material in the King's defence; which ſeems alſo to have been the opinion of thoſe who ſo baſely intercepted them.

The day preceding that on which the King was to appear with his Counſel before the Convention, Santerre informed them, that the King, as he believed, might be conducted in ſafety to and from the Aſſembly, provided he returned while there was day-light; but if he was detained till it was dark, he could not anſwer for what might

might happen; ſo great was the fury of the people againſt him.

When thoſe who expreſs a fear that the populace will deſtroy the King, are the very perſons who have been active in exciting the public againſt him—it may naturally be thought that the fear is affected, on purpoſe to prevent any attempt to reſcue him, rather than to prevent his being deſtroyed.

The hypocriſy that has been diſplayed, and the artifices that have been uſed to impoſe upon the people, to inflame their minds againſt the King, and ſtifle every ſentiment of humanity and remorſe, are odious and wicked in the extreme.

When the Deputies went on the morning of the 26th of December to the Convention, all thoſe who were ſuſpected to favour the King were inſulted by the crowds, who beſet the paſſages into the Aſſembly-hall, as Rolandiſts, Briſſotins and Royaliſts: moſt of the Deputies were there

by eight; and notwithſtanding that a decree had paſſed the evening before to clear the galleries, and not to admit any until a certain hour that morning, the galleries were found full of people, who had remained there all night. It was pretended that the guards could not poſſibly put the decree in execution.

Manuel moved, that the galleries ſhould be cleared of thoſe who had ſhewn ſuch contempt to the decree; and that another ſet of citizens ſhould be admitted. This propoſal met with loud murmurs and hooting, from thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of the tribunes, ſupported by all the faction of the Mountain, who exclaimed for the order of the day. Others ſupported the motion of Manuel. The Preſident divided the Aſſembly, whether they ſhould maintain their own decree, or yield to thoſe who openly deſpiſed it: it was carried to paſs to the order of the day.

Here

Here the influence of terror is evident.

Some time previous to the King's arrival, one of the Commiſſioners who had been on duty at the Temple preſented a parcel of keys, which the King had given to Clery, his valet.

The Commiſſioner obſerved, that one of theſe keys opened the iron cheſt lately found full of papers in the Palace, and alſo opened other cabinets belonging to the King; and that of courſe he muſt be acquainted with the keys and papers contained in the iron cheſt.

We ſee men every day who are led into the commiſſion of crimes by the influence of their paſſions, although they have the ſame idea of virtue and vice with thoſe who live a more virtuous life; but the conduct of many actors in this Revolution, particularly of late, tempts us to believe that they have different ideas of the plaineſt caſes of right and wrong, from what have been generally entertained by mankind.

When

When the Council of the Municipality met on the 25th of December, to decide on the manner in which the King ſhould be conducted to the Convention, Chaumet, the Procureur Syndic, ſaid, that as the King could be conſidered in no other light than as a condemned criminal ſoon to be executed, it would be diſhonourable for the Magiſtrates of the people to accompany him to the Convention; and that he ought therefore to be conducted by the military only.

This was declaring that the trial was a mere farce, and that it was already determined to put the King to death, whatever proofs might be brought of his innocence, and whatever might be urged in his defence. There is great reaſon to think that this was really the caſe; but it is moſt extraordinary that it ſhould be mentioned as a thing quite reaſonable and proper, and it is ſtill more extraordinary that it was rejected by only a very ſmall majority, who at laſt decreed, that the King ſhould be accompanied

ned by the Mayor, the Procureur Syndic, and thirty Municipal Officers.

On the 26th of December, his Majeſty, with whom his Counſel had been from an early hour, left the Temple a little before nine in the Mayor's coach, and was conducted as formerly to the gate of the Capucins, rue St. Honoré, where the National Guards formed a line, through which he walked to the Chambre des Conferences, where he again met his Counſel.

General Berruyer, Commander in Chief of all the military of the department of Paris, with all the Field Officers then in the capital, who were not otherwiſe on duty, accompanied the King on horſeback from the Temple to the Aſſembly Hall. Berruyer informed the Preſident, that the King was arrived. The Preſident deſired he might be conducted to the bar; which was done in the following order: Berruyer and Santerre walked firſt, the Mayor of Paris and

the Procureur after them, and the King with Meſſrs. Maleſherbes, Tronchet and Seze followed. The Preſident ſaid, "Lewis, the Convention has decreed, that you ſhould be ultimately heard this day."

His Majeſty anſwered, "Monſieur de Seze, one of my Counſel, will read my defence."

M. de Seze then read the defence, which entirely refutes ſome of the charges, ſhews the conſtitutional objections to others, and with equal candour and ingenuity gives a favourable interpretation to all.

During the defence, M. de Seze was obliged to ſtop two or three times: at thoſe intervals the King was obſerved to ſpeak to one or other of his Counſel, which he did with a ſmiling countenance.

When the defence was finiſhed, he aroſe, and, holding a paper in his hand, pronounced in a calm manner, and with a firm voice, what follows:—"Citizens, you have heard

heard my defence; I now ſpeak to you perhaps for the laſt time, and declare that my Counſel have aſſerted nothing to you but the truth; my conſcience reproaches me with nothing; I never was afraid of having my conduct inveſtigated; but I obſerved with great uneaſineſs, that I was accuſed of giving orders for ſhedding the blood of the people on the 10th of Auguſt. The proofs I have given through my whole life of a contrary diſpoſition, I hoped would have ſaved me from ſuch an imputation, which I now ſolemnly declare is entirely groundleſs." The Preſident ordered the keys to be ſhewn to the King, and aſked if he knew them. The King anſwered, "that he remembered to have given a parcel of keys to Clery; but it was ſo long ſince he had made uſe of them, that he did not know whether theſe were the ſame."

The Preſident having aſked, "Whether he wiſhed to ſay any thing farther," and

being anſwered in the negative, the King withdrew into the Chamber of Conferences. Obſerving that M. de Seze was greatly heated, he expreſſed anxiety about his health, and enquired whether he could not find means to change his linen.

On the way from the Temple to the Aſſembly, ſome perſon in the carriage with the King made mention of ſome of the Roman hiſtorians, which gave him occaſion to ſay, that he preferred Tacitus to Livy: he accuſed the latter of having compoſed ſpeeches for the Generals, which certainly had never been pronounced. On his return from the Aſſembly, he preſerved the ſame ſerenity. The Procureur had his hat on, which had not been the caſe when he was in the carriage with the King the firſt time he went to and from the Convention. The King took notice of this piece of rudeneſs, by ſaying to him, "You had forgot your hat the laſt time you attended me; but you have been

been more careful of your health on this occaſion."

Obſerving that the Procureur bowed and waved his hand with a look of familiarity to ſome perſons in the ſtreets, the King ſaid, "I ſuppoſe theſe are citizens of your ſection?" The Procureur anſwered, "No, they do not belong to my ſection; but they were members of the General Council of the 10th of Auguſt, *whom I always ſee with pleaſure.*"

The Mayor held his ſnuff-box in his hand: the Secretary of the Municipality looking at a portrait of M. Chambon's wife on the lid, made the uſual obſervation, that the original was handſomer than the portrait. —The King alſo deſired to ſee it; which having done, he ſaid, that Monſ. Chambon was happy in poſſeſſing a woman more beautiful than ſuch a portrait.

The King arrived at the Temple in ſafety, though the cries of the rabble were more noiſy and frequent than on the former day.

He had no ſooner withdrawn from the Aſſembly, than Manuel propoſed that the King's defence ſhould be printed, and ſent to the eighty-four departments, and that all diſcuſſion concerning it ſhould be adjourned for three days.

The mention of adjournment excited the moſt noiſy murmurs from ſome of the members, and all the people in the galleries. Duhem, deputy from the department of the North, diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion. —He cried, that Lewis had been heard— —that there was no pretext for farther delay—and inſiſted that the Convention ſhould inſtantly proceed, by the nominal appeal, to pronounce judgment.—The murmurs were converted into applauſe. Lanjuinais began to ſpeak:—"The time is paſſed," ſaid he, "when bloody-minded men could force the Aſſembly, by threats, to pronounce degrading decrees; do they expect that we ſhall diſhonour ourſelves by pronouncing judgment, without

out having had time to weigh the defence of the accuſed?" He was interrupted by clamours. Some called out to ſend him to the Abbaye, on the pretence of his having inſinuated a reflexion againſt the heroes of the 10th of Auguſt; it was with infinite difficulty that he was allowed to explain. After which, Legendre and others recommenced their outcries for pronouncing judgment before they ſhould ſeparate. "Do you intend to act as a judge, or as a *butcher?*" ſaid Kerſaint?

This ſarcaſm was applauded by many of the Deputies, but hooted by the tribunes.

Raffron, of the department of Paris, always a very zealous, and often a very clamorous Member, attempted to ſpeak; a deaf perſon would have thought, from the violence of his geſtures, and his gaping, that he was bellowing very loud: the man

was ſo hoarſe with a cold, that he could not be heard, which increaſed the anger of his heart, and the contortions of his countenance, but entirely ſuppreſſed his voice.—He was adviſed, by thoſe who were afraid that the violence of his efforts would throw him into convulſions, to put his opinion in writing—which he did; and it was read to the Aſſembly by the Preſident. The import of it was, that they ought directly to paſs ſentence on the King, of whoſe guilt, this temperate judge declared, no calm and candid man could have any doubt.

Raſſron's opinion was loudly approved of by the galleries, but did not convince the majority of the deputies, ſome of whom ventured to expreſs a deſire of ſtill more time to deliberate on the defence they had juſt heard——The people exclaimed with horror at the idea. Some deputies moved that they ſhould be called to order, which

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rendered them more diſorderly than ever. It was propoſed to adjourn—This made Duhem outrageous: he ruſhed into the middle of the hall, followed by a number of the members of the faction of the Mountain, crying "La Mort du Tyran!"—and ſeeming to appeal to the galleries—and even to threaten Fermond the Preſident.

Had Lewis XVI. really been the bloody tyrant theſe men affected to call him, ſtill this behaviour in his judges, on his trial, would have been indecent and odious; but to ſhew ſuch an unrelenting ſpirit, and ſuch fury againſt a Prince of ſo mild a character —one *who has borne his faculties ſo meek*—is not to be accounted for by any of the motives which uſually influence men, whether virtuous or vicious. Some members of this National Convention ſeem as deaf to the voice of expediency and ſelf-intereſt as of humanity and juſtice. Inſtead of any ra-

tional principle, they appear to be urged on by brutal and furious inſtinct to the death of the King, like blood-hounds, who never quit the ſcent till they have drunk the blood of their prey.

During this diſgraceful ſcene, Fermond calmly kept his ſeat, allowing the fury of thoſe men to exhauſt itſelf: at length, perceiving that Petion was inclined to ſpeak, he invited him to aſcend the tribune, conceiving, from the ſtrength of his former popularity, that he had a better chance of being heard than any other member who did not belong to the faction of the Mountain: it was with great difficulty, however, that he was allowed to ſpeak.—He endeavoured to convince them of the indecency of proceeding to judgment immediately, and before the members had time to deliberate on the defence which they had juſt heard.

When it appeared that the majority of

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the Convention were not to be driven into the shameful measure of giving judgment directly, the point was given up; and it was decreed that every Member had a right to pronounce his opinion on the whole cause from the tribune, before the day for the nominal appeal was fixed.

Whoever has attended to the conduct and spirit of the Jacobins may have remarked, that however popular any person has been among them—however greatly he may have distinguished himself by promoting their measures with zeal and ability—if he chances to be seized with a qualm of conscience at last, and hesitates to act with them in a single instance, all his past merit is forgotten, and he is execrated by the society as a determined enemy.

The night after the King's defence was made, a Member of the Jacobins gave an account in that society of what had passed at the Convention—particularly that Manuel had proposed

propoſed to adjourn the diſcuſſion for no leſs a period than three days; and that Petion had ſpoken againſt pronouncing judgment without ſeparating. This was heard with horror and indignation: it was immediately decreed, that Manuel ſhould be expelled from the ſociety. Petion with difficulty eſcaped the ſame fate, which, however, was poſtponed only for a ſhort time.

For ſeveral days after the defence, the time of the Convention was moſtly taken up in hearing the opinions of the members: all of them prefaced their diſcourſes, by declaring a conviction of the King's guilt; perhaps they thought this neceſſary to ſecure them the liberty of preceeding. They differed however with reſpect to the penalty he had incurred; many being of opinion that juſtice and policy forbade the pains of death: all the Rolandiſts, Briſſotins and Girondiſts were of this number.

ber. Danton's and Robeſpierre's party argued for immediate death; and became ſo impatient at the delay, from hearing ſo many diſcourſes, that they repealed the decree that had paſſed a few days before; and inſtead of hearing every member from the tribune, they reſolved that the diſcourſes ſhould be printed, and laid on the table to be read by thoſe who choſe, and the 14th of January was appointed for pronouncing ultimately. It was not till the 15th, however, that the firſt appeal was made, owing to the long and warm diſcuſſions which took place in the Convention before it was determined in what terms, and in what order the queſtions ſhould be ſtated on which the Convention was to decide: at laſt, it was decreed that the following queſtions ſhould be put to all the members, and decided by the nominal appeal:

1. Is Lewis Capet, late King of France, guilty of a conſpiracy againſt liberty, and

of

of attempts againſt the general ſafety of the State? Yes, or No.

2. Shall the judgment to be pronounced on Lewis, be ſubmitted to the ratification of the people in the Primary Aſſemblies? Yes, or No.

3. What puniſhment has he incurred?

Theſe queſtions were artfully and wickedly arranged in this order, to render the King's condemnation more certain.

Several deputies who thought the appeal to the Primary Aſſemblies a wrong meaſure in itſelf, gave their votes againſt it, in the belief that the King would not be condemned to death—but had the queſtion reſpecting the puniſhment been brought on in the ſecond place, they would have ſeen that the appeal to the people was the only means of ſaving the life of the King, and would then have voted for that meaſure, although in general they did not approve of it.

This accounts for the length and violence of the debates, on a queſtion apparently of ſo little importance as the order in which the propoſitions were to be voted:—for ſome of thoſe who wiſhed to ſave the life of the King ſaw this in the light above ſtated, and ſtrove to have the queſtions otherwiſe arranged:—neither party, however, avowed the real reaſon of their zeal, and the malice of the King's enemies prevailed.

On the firſt queſtion, the Aſſembly voted almoſt unanimouſly in the affirmative.—But many of the deputies declared, that they gave this opinion as citizens and legiſlators, but not as judges; becauſe they neither thought themſelves qualified for that office, nor authoriſed by their Conſtituents to aſſume it.

Moriſſon, of the department of Vendée, refuſed to vote: he ſaid, "he would give his reaſons if the Convention exacted it," which was not done: a very few others declined voting; among whom was Noel,

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of the department of Voſges, who ſaid, "that his ſon having been killed on the frontiers, fighting againſt the enemy, he conſidered the King as the primary cauſe of his ſon's death, and felt ſo much prejudice againſt him, that he was unqualified for being his judge."

Oſſelin, who had been one of the Judges belonging to the Tribunal appointed in Auguſt, gave his vote in the affirmative, and at the ſame time ſtated, "that one of the accuſations againſt the King is, that he continued to pay his guards after they were reduced, although many of them had emigrated; that his Counſel, conſcious of the force of this accuſation, had taken great pains to deſtroy it, and had aſſerted that the King had not paid the guards after the 1ſt of January 1792; but that he himſelf, as one of the Adminiſtrators of the Commune of Paris, had had buſineſs to tranſact with M. Laporte, and that Madame Laporte had made a deduction

duction from the revenues of the Civil Liſt of 1,200,000 livres in the month of July 1792, for the payment of the guards, then well known to have emigrated."

What ſtreſs ought to be laid on ſuch evidence ſo given, I leave to lawyers to decide; but common juſtice might have dictated to a man, who thus volunteered himſelf as a *witneſs*, that he ought not to vote as a *judge*.

When the name of M. Egalité was called, it was imagined that he alſo would have declined voting; and when he pronounced "*Oui*," a murmur of ſurpriſe and indignation was heard.

The ſecond queſtion was undoubtedly intended as a means of ſaving the life of the King, and would in all probability have had that effect, if it had not been brought forward until the ſentence of death was carried.

The meaſure of referring the King's fate

to the people themſelves, which from its nature was highly popular, had been rendered the reverſe by the unwearied exertions of thoſe who feared that, if carried, it would ſave his life.

In giving their votes on this ſecond queſtion in the affirmative, ſeveral of the Deputies ſaid, they were aware of the danger to which they expoſed themſelves; but being convinced that their conſtituents had elected them as legiſlators, and not as judges; and as it was repugnant to their conſciences to unite the characters of jury and accuſers, they would run every riſk rather than do it.—One Member ſaid, "As I give my vote for referring this matter to the Primary Aſſemblies of the people, I expect the worſt, and I glory in being of the number of thoſe who brave the danger." Another, "that in pronouncing the ſame vote, he devoted himſelf to the daggers of aſſaſſins."

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The ſpeech that Manuel made on giving his vote was remarkable.—"I ſee here a Legiſlative Aſſembly, but not an aſſembly of judges; for judges do not murmur at the opinions of their brethren, though different from their own: they do not openly abuſe and calumniate each other; they are cold as the law of which they are the organs. If the Convention had been a tribunal of law, a dear relation of the King, who has not been reſtrained either by a ſenſe of ſhame or by his conſcience, would not have been permitted to vote on this occaſion."

The Preſident called Manuel to order, telling him to avoid perſonalities. Manuel then voted for the appeal. Raffron, Panis, Legendre and Marat, who are all of the Department of Paris, and ſeem of congenial diſpoſitions, voted againſt it.

It was midnight before the Appeal was ended:—there were 424 againſt, 283 for the reference; 10 refuſed to vote. The Aſ-

ſembly adjourned till the 16th, and when it met, incidental buſineſs prevented the appel nominal from being begun till the evening. Many of the members particulariſed their reaſons for voting as they did. The ceremony laſted through the whole night. The reſult was a majority for death. Three hundred and nineteen voted for impriſonment till the end of the war, and then baniſhment. Had all who voted for death with reſtriction, that the ſentence ſhould not be executed till the peace, or till the Conſtitution was framed and accepted, been ſubſtracted from the majority, it would have been diminiſhed to a ſurplus of only five or ſix votes.

On this occaſion, M. Egalité voted for death without reſtriction. A murmur of horror was heard. One deputy ſtarted from his ſeat, ſtruck his hands together, and exclaimed, "*Ah le ſcélérat!*" others repeated the ſame expreſſion. The terms in which he delivered his vote are remarkable:

"Unique-

" Uniquement occupé de mon devoir, convaincu que tous ceux qui ont attenté ou attenteront par la ſuite à la ſouveraineté du peuple, méritent la mort, je vote pour la mort*."

Previous to the ſcrutiny, and after every member had voted, the Preſident informed the Convention that he had received a letter

* Influenced by no conſideration but that of performing my duty, convinced that all who have conſpired, or ſhall hereafter conſpire againſt the ſovereignty of the people, deſerve death, I vote for death.

I have it from good authority, that an acquaintance of M. Egalité underſtanding that he was not to vote on the favourable ſide, adviſed him to declare, that on account of the ill treatment which he imagined he had formerly received from the King, there would be an impropriety in his voting—that this would be conſidered as a good reaſon for declining, and would preclude the indignation which muſt be the conſequence of his voting againſt the King. Egalité promiſed either to follow this plan or to ſtay from the Convention on the day of the appel nominal; but having the day before that took place been waited on by Robeſpierre, Marat, and others of that party, they urged reaſons which made him act as he did.

from the Spaniſh Miniſter, and one from the King's Counſel. There was a cry from the Mountain for the order of the day. Garan-Coulon ſaid, that the King's Counſel ſhould be heard, but the Spaniſh Miniſter's letter ſhould not be read. "How!" exclaimed Danton, "the Spaniſh Court have not acknowledged our Republic, and they attempt to influence our deliberations! If all the members were of my opinion, we ſhould declare war againſt Spain for this interference alone."

Genſonnet propoſed that the King's Counſel ſhould be heard after the reſult of the ſcrutiny was known, but that in the mean time the Convention ſhould refuſe to hear the letter of the Spaniſh Miniſter, and paſs to the order of the day. It was unanimouſly agreed not to hear the letter, and Robeſpierre declaimed alſo againſt hearing the Counſel. In this he failed.

Duchaſtel,

Duchaſtel, Deputy from the department of Deux-Sèvres, having been indiſpoſed, had not been in the Aſſembly when his name was called the preceding night. He now was ſupported into the hall, and as the ſcrutiny was not yet cloſed, demanded to give his vote. It was ſuſpected that he came to give his vote on the merciful ſide; and thoſe who had during the whole proceſs thirſted for the King's blood, and were now doubtful how the ſcrutiny ſtood, oppoſed his voting. Valazé, one of the ſecretaries, declaring that the ſcrutiny was *not* cloſed, Duchaſtel gave his voice for baniſhment. A ſhameful attempt was next made, on a frivolous pretext, to eraſe his vote—this was not permitted. The Preſident announced the iſſue of the ſcrutiny as above mentioned, and the King's Counſel were admitted to the bar.

Deſeze ſaid, that the law, and a decree of

the Convention having entruſted them with the defence of Lewis, they came with ſorrowful hearts to perform their laſt duty to their client; he then read what follows from a paper ſigned by the King: "I owe to my honour, I owe to my family, not to acknowledge the juſtice of a ſentence that declares me guilty of a crime with which I cannot reproach myſelf. I therefore appeal to the Nation at large from the ſentence of its repreſentatives; and I empower my Counſel by theſe preſents, and expreſsly charge them on their fidelity, to make this appeal known to the National Aſſembly, and to require that it ſhall be inſerted in to the minutes of their ſittings.

(Signed) LOUIS.

Each of the Counſel made a ſhort addreſs to the Convention: Deſeze conjured them in the name of humanity and juſtice, to reviſe, or leave to the ratification of the People,

ple, a ſentence carried by a majority of only five votes, and againſt which three hundred and nineteen of the Aſſembly had declared their opinions.

Tronchet repreſented that many of thoſe who voted for death, had declared that they founded their opinion on the penal code—yet the penal code requires two thirds of the voices to condemn an accuſed perſon. A decree of the Convention, paſſed only that morning, had pronounced that the majority of a ſingle voice was ſufficient. On that decree being objected to, they had ſimply paſſed to the order of the day; but in a matter of [illegible] immenſe importance, the appel nominal was neceſſary: he therefore demanded the repeal of that decree.

M. de Maleſherbes ſaid, that he had formerly had occaſion to reflect with great attention on the important queſtion of how the votes ought to be taken in criminal caſes;

caſes; but that not being in the habit of ſpeaking extempore, he begged in the moſt earneſt and affecting manner, that he might be allowed till the next day to arrange the ideas which he wiſhed to ſubmit to their conſideration.

Robeſpierre and others argued on the other ſide; and the Convention rejected the appeal made in the name of the King, paſſed to the order of the day on the requiſition of Malesherbes, and adjourned till next day the debate on the delay of the execution of the ſentence, which was diſcuſſed at length accordingly.

Two remarkable incidents occurred during this debate, which ſhew what an exceſs of wanton barbarity and perſevering rancour ſome men are capable of upon the moſt ſolemn and affecting occaſions. Tallien, with diabolical irony, argued for the King's immediate execution, on what he called motives of humanity. "He knows," ſaid the wretch,

wretch, " that he is condemned, and that a reſpite is demanded—to keep him in ſuſpenſe is prolónging his agony. Let us, in tenderneſs for his ſufferings, decree his immediate execution, and put him out of anguiſh."

This ſhocked even Danton, who expreſſed diſapprobation of it.

The other incident occurred when Thomas Paine, who had formerly given his opinion againſt the death of the King, aſcended the tribune: as he was not in the habit of pronouncing French, one of the ſecretaries read his diſcourſe tranſlated from the original Engliſh. His reaſoning againſt the execution of the ſentence probably was thought very perſuaſive, ſince thoſe who had heard the diſcourſes of Buzot, Condorcet and Briſſot to the ſame purport without interruption, broke out into murmurs while Paine's opinion was reading; and Marat at length loſing all patience, exclaimed that Paine was a Quaker, and inſinuated, that

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his mind being contracted by the narrow principles of his religion, was incapable of the *liberality* requiſite for condemning men to death. This ſhrewd argument not being thought convincing, the Secretary continued to read, "That the execution of the ſentence, inſtead of an act of juſtice, would appear to all the world, and particularly to their allies the American States, an act of vengeance; and that if he were ſufficiently maſter of the French language, he would, in the name of his brethren of America, preſent a petition at their bar againſt the execution of the ſentence."

Marat and his aſſociates cried, that theſe could not poſſibly be the ſentiments of Thomas Paine, and that the Aſſembly were impoſed on by a falſe tranſlation.

On comparing it with the original, however, it was found juſt.

They proceeded to the fourth appel nominal, which was terminated at midnight on Saturday the 19th of January 1793.

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The voters were reſtricted to pronounce a ſimple yes or no, without any reaſoning; 310 voted for a reſpite of the ſentence, 380 againſt it.

It may be thought, from the reſult of this queſtion, that the reference to the Primary Aſſemblies would have been equally rejected, at whatever time that propoſal had been voted; but it ſhould be remembered, that it was ſtill leſs obnoxious to vote for referring the ſentence entirely to the people, than to vote for a reſpite of a ſentence actually pronounced.

The Executive Council were ordered to notify this to the King the day following, and that the execution was to take place within twenty-four hours of the notification. It was decreed at the ſame time, that he ſhould be allowed free communication with his family, and to have any eccleſiaſtic he pleaſed to attend him.

The Executive Council, of which Garat the Miniſter of Juſtice was Preſident, met

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on the morning of the 20th. He, with two other Members of the Council, and the Secretary, ſet out for the Temple, where they arrived at two.

Being introduced into the King's apartment, Garat, who was greatly agitated, ſaid with a faltering voice—" Lewis, the Executive Council is ordered to notify to you the decree which the National Convention paſſed laſt night."

The Secretary began to read the decree. In the preamble, the King is charged with having *conſpired againſt the general ſafety of the Nation*—He was ſhocked at the idea, and repeated the expreſſion with emotion. The Secretary, who had pauſed, reſumed, and the King heard the reſt, including the ſentence, with calmneſs.

When the Secretary had finiſhed, the King took a paper from his pocket, the contents of which he informed them of, and deſired the Miniſter of Juſtice to preſent it to the Executive Council.

Garat

Garat informed him, that the Council could not decide on the ſubjects of his demands, but that he would immediately carry them to the Convention, who had already agreed to ſome of them.

He went accordingly, and read to the Aſſembly the paper which the King had given him.

It contained a requeſt of a reſpite of three days, that he might prepare himſelf for appearing in the preſence of God: and for that purpoſe, that he might be freely viſited by a perſon, whoſe name he would mention to the Commiſſioners.

That he might be freed from their inſpection during the interval allowed him to live.

That he might have free communication with his family.

That the National Convention would permit his family to withdraw from France to any other country they choſe. Finally, he recommended to the generoſity of the nation

a number of old ſervants, many of whom had nothing to live on but the penſions he had allowed them.

When the Miniſter of Juſtice returned to the Temple, he informed the King, that the Convention acquieſced in moſt of his demands; he gave a favourable interpretation to the general anſwer which had been given to that reſpecting the lot of his family, but added, that *the delay was refuſed.*

" Allons," ſaid the King, " il faut ſe ſoumettre."

There is ſomething infinitely harſh and revolting to humanity in the refuſal of this laſt requeſt; which there is every reaſon to believe, from the character and conduct of the King, proceeded from the pious motive which he aſſigned—and not, as his enemies have ſuggeſted, from a weak deſire of prolonging a wretched exiſtence.

Should it be the fate of any of thoſe men who rejected this requeſt of the unfortunate

Monarch,

Monarch, ever to be in ſimilar circumſtances, as they will have more need of it than he had, I ſincerely hope that they will be allowed more than three days to prepare themſelves for eternity.

When the Miniſter of Juſtice had retired, the King gave to one of the Commiſſioners a letter addreſſed to Mr. Edgeworth, who was the perſon he wiſhed to attend him in his laſt moments.

Mr. Edgeworth's father was originally a Proteſtant clergyman of a good family in Ireland, who was converted to the Roman Catholic religion, and had eſtabliſhed himſelf in France, where he bred his ſon as an eccleſiaſtic, in the faith which he himſelf preferred.—The ſon recommended himſelf ſo much by his good conduct and excellent character, that he was choſen by the Princeſs Elizabeth as her confeſſor; by which means he became known to, and highly eſteemed by, the King; of which he gave the

ſtrongeſt proof, by ſending for him on this awful occaſion.

The King's letter was carried to Mr. Edgeworth by three ſoldiers, ſent by the Council of the Commune. The contents of the letter were requeſting his attendance; but if he found himſelf, from apprehenſion of the conſequence, or any other cauſe, averſe to come, entreating him to find another prieſt who had not the ſame reluctance.

Mr. Edgeworth informed the ſoldiers, that he would attend them directly to the Temple. His mother and ſiſter were then at a ſmall diſtance from Paris; he deſired Madame d'Argouge, a relation with whom he lived when in town, not to inform them of what had happened, becauſe he ſaw that lady herſelf greatly alarmed, and feared that ſhe might communicate her apprehenſions to them.

Mr. Edgeworth was conducted firſt before the Council in the Temple, and then to

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the King. On his being introduced, he inſtantly ſhewed ſuch marks of reſpect and ſenſibility as affected the unfortunate Prince ſo much, that he burſt into tears, and was for ſome moments unable to ſpeak: at length he ſaid—"Excuſe me, Mr. Edgeworth, I have not been accuſtomed of late to the company of men like you."

After paſſing ſome time with his confeſſor, the King thought he had acquired ſufficient fortitude to bear an interview with his family. The Queen, Princeſs Elizabeth, with the Prince and Princeſs Royal, were conducted to his apartment. They continued near three hours together—No tragic poet has imagined a ſcene more affecting than what was realized at this interview—The actors, ſo lately placed in the moſt brilliant ſituation that the world can give—hurled from the ſummit of human ſplendor to the depth of human miſery. A ſiſter, children, and a wife, in a priſon, taking their laſt leave of a

brother, father, and huſband, rendered more dear than ever by his paſt ſufferings, their common calamity, and the dreadful fate awaiting him the following day.

The King, though affected at different times beyond the power of expreſſion, retained his recollection to the laſt. When they were to ſeparate, the Princeſs Elizabeth mentioned their hopes of ſeeing him again in the morning. He allowed her to expect it. The Queen could liſten to no words of comfort. No conſideration could prevent her from pouring forth her indignation in the moſt violent expreſſions againſt the enemies of her huſband. In the bitterneſs of her ſoul ſhe beat her breaſt and tore her hair; and her ſcreams were heard at intervals, all that night of agony and horror.

After his family had withdrawn, the King remained for ſome time with his eyes fixed on the ground without ſpeaking; then with a pro-

a profound ſigh he pronounced—" Ce moment étoit terrible."

I have it from the beſt authority, that after his family were withdrawn, the miſery of his own fate did not engroſs his mind ſo entirely as to exclude all ſolicitude for the fate of others; he enquired in a moſt affectionate manner of Mr. Edgeworth for ſeveral whom he conſidered as his friends, and particularly for the eccleſiaſtics, who had been perſecuted with the greateſt cruelty; and expreſſed ſatisfaction at hearing that many of them had eſcaped to England, where they were received with kindneſs and hoſpitality.

Mr. Edgeworth prevailed on him to go to bed for four hours.

He roſe at five; and expreſſing an inclination to hear maſs, Mr. Edgeworth informed the Council who were ſitting in the Temple of the King's requeſt. Some difficulties were made, which Mr. Edgeworth removed, ſaying that the uſual ornaments and

all that was requiſite for the ceremony could be procured from a neighbouring church.

Mr. Edgeworth ſhewing great ſolicitude that the King ſhould be gratified, one of the Commiſſioners ſaid, he had heard of people who had been poiſoned taking the ſacrament.

To this horrid inſinuation Mr. Edgeworth made no other reply, than by calmly reminding him that the Committee were to procure the hoſt.

What was neceſſary was provided. Mr. Edgeworth ſaid maſs, and adminiſtered the ſacrament to the King; and then mentioned that his family expected to ſee him before he left the Temple. The King, fearing that he had not ſufficient firmneſs for a ſecond interview, wiſhed to ſpare them the agony of ſuch a ſcene, and therefore declined it.

At half an hour after eight Santerre came

and informed him that he had received orders to conduct him to the place of execution. After paſſing three minutes in private with his Confeſſor, he came to the outer room where Santerre had remained, and addreſſing him, ſaid, " Marchons, je ſuis prêt." In deſcending to the court, he begged the Commiſſioners to recommend certain perſons who were in his ſervice to the Commune; after which, not imagining that Mr. Edgeworth intended to accompany him any further, he was bidding him adieu. But the other ſaid, his attendance was not over. " What," ſaid the King, " do you intend to adhere to me ſtill?" " Yes," replied the Confeſſor, " to the laſt."

The King walked through the Court with a firm ſtep, and entered the Mayor's coach, followed by Mr. Edgeworth, a Municipal Officer, and two Officers of the National Guards.

The King recited the prayers for perſons in the agonies of death during the conveyance from the Temple to the Place de la Révolution, formerly the Place de Louis XV.

When the carriage ſtopped at the ſcaffold, the King ſaid—" Nous voici donc arrivé," He pulled off his coat, unbuttoned the neck of his ſhirt, aſcended the ſcaffold with ſteadineſs, and ſurveyed for a few moments the immenſe multitude; then approaching the edge, as there was a good deal of noiſe, he made a motion with his hand for ſilence, which inſtantly took place*—then ſpeaking

* It has been ſaid that the ſerenity which the King ſhewed at his death, did not proceed wholly from the ſupport he derived from religion, but was partly owing to the hope he entertained to the laſt, even when on the ſcaffold, that his life would be ſaved by the people, and that his Confeſſor encouraged him in this hope.

Nothing can be more improbable than this ſtory. Had the King entertained any ſuch hope, it muſt ſtill have been intermingled with fear; and ſuch a ſtate of mind, inſtead of calmneſs, was more likely to produce agitation.

The

with a raiſed voice, he ſaid—" Francais, je meurs innocent. Je pardonne à tous mes ennemis, et je ſouhaite que la France——"

Santerre, who was on horſeback near the ſcaffold, made a ſignal for the drums to beat, and for the executioners to perform their office. The King's voice was drowned in the noiſe of the drums.

Three executioners then approached to ſeize him: at the ſight of a cord, with which one of them attempted to tie his arms, the King for the firſt time ſhewed ſigns of indignation, and as if he was going to reſiſt. Mr. Edgeworth put him in mind that the Saviour of Mankind had allowed his arms to

The whole of his behaviour ſhews a manly and chriſtian reſignation to a fate which he thought inevitable, and proves that his hopes were removed from earth to heaven.

The character of Mr. Edgeworth precludes him from the ſuſpicion of having encouraged a hope which would have diſturbed that turn of mind which it was his duty to promote and cheriſh in the King.

be

be tied: he no ſooner pronounced this, than the King became paſſive as a lamb. The executioners laid hold of him, and placed him on the guillotine. The Confeſſor then kneeling with his face near to that of the King, pronounced aloud—"Enfant de Saint Louis, montez au ciel."—The blow was given—Mr. Edgeworth's face was ſprinkled with the King's blood. The executioner walked round the ſcaffold, holding up the head to be ſeen by the people. A few, who had probably been hired for the purpoſe, cried—"Vive la Nation! Vive la Republique!"

Thus did the French Nation, who had endured the cruelties of Lewis the Eleventh, the treachery of Charles the Ninth, and the tyranny of Lewis the Fourteenth, condemn and execute for the pretended crimes of cruelty, treachery, and tyranny, the mildeſt, moſt juſt, and leaſt

tyrannical

tyrannical Prince that ever ſat on their throne.

Let us conſider the conduct of the Convention with regard to the King, and decide whether it can be reconciled to good ſenſe, juſtice, or humanity.

When the Deputies firſt met and formed a National Convention, they knew that a moſt extraordinary event had happened; that the palace of their King had been attacked; that many citizens had been killed, and almoſt all his guards ſlaughtered; that the King himſelf with all his family had been thrown into priſon, where they ſtill remained; and that their duty, as the repreſentatives of the nation, was to inveſtigate the cauſes of this extraordinary event, and to puniſh the guilty.

The Convention were informed by thoſe *who had planned and directed* the attack on the palace, "That the citizens had been wantonly fired on by the guards, in conſequence

of

of orders from the King; that the King was betraying the country to an invading army, with the leaders of which he was in correſpondence; and that unleſs he had been attacked and impriſoned, the nation would have been enſlaved."

Having heard this accuſation, it was natural to have imagined that the Convention would, in the next place, have wiſhed to know the King's account of theſe tranſactions, that they might be the better able to judge which account was the moſt probable, and the beſt ſupported by known and incontrovertible facts.

One fact they muſt have known, namely, that when the King had reaſon to believe that his palace was to be attacked, he ſent for the Mayor of Paris and other Civil Officers to be near his perſon, and to be witneſſes of his conduct.

From this it was to be preſumed, that the King wiſhed to avoid force, and if he ſhould

be

be driven to the neceſſity of uſing it, that it ſhould be under the direction of the Civil Magiſtrate.

The Convention might have recollected, that although one of the many evils which are inherent in a *deſpotic* government, be, that there is no door to freedom but through inſurrection; yet the moderate and equitable character of Lewis XVI. had early inclined him to ſuch alterations in the old ſyſtem, as would gradually have united the prerogatives of limited monarchy with the rights of free men.

Such conſiderations, with a moderate ſhare of candour and gratitude, one would imagine, would have made them ſuſpend their belief in the full extent of the crimes imputed to the King; and at all events have prevented their giving a deciſion injurious to him, till he was heard, and till as many of their brother Deputies as were expected had arrived. Inſtead of this, they thought proper, on the

very

very firſt day of their meeting, when not above half of their number had arrived, without hearing the King, to pronounce the ſevereſt ſentence againſt him which they had a right by the Conſtitution to have done, even if all of which he was accuſed had been clearly proved *.

They next proceed with more deliberation, to determine whether the King may not ſtill be tried for his life.

The inviolability with which the Conſtitution had inveſted the monarch, was, in the minds of many of the Deputies, an inſurmountable objection to this meaſure.

It might have been imagined, that if the terms in which this inviolability was expreſſed by the Conſtitution had been obſcure and ſomewhat dubious, ſtill it would have been becoming in the legiſlators of a great nation to have explained them in the moſt

* Abolition of Royalty.

favourable

favourable ſenſe for their unfortunate monarch: there was no room, however, for their exerciſing their generoſity in this manner; for the terms are as clear as language can make them.

This had no effect on a majority of the Deputies, who declared, that they conſidered the inviolability as a mere chimera, which ought not to be regarded.

The reaſoning by which they ſupported this propoſition will appear extraordinary. "The Conſtitution," ſay they, "could only render the King inviolable while he was King, but it can have no ſuch effect now that Royalty is aboliſhed; and therefore we may now with propriety try him as a private citizen."

According to the military law and cuſtom of ſome countries, an officer of the army may be condemned to loſe his commiſſion, and to ſerve in the ranks for certain crimes, for which a common ſoldier would be condemned

demned to undergo a corporal puniſhment;—but nothing ſo unjuſt was ever thought of, as firſt to make the officer ſuffer the puniſhment appointed by the military code for his crime as an officer, and afterwards, on the pretence of his being a common ſoldier, to inflict a ſecond puniſhment for the ſame crime.

Other Deputies reaſon in this manner:

The inviolability is very good in ordinary caſes, but it is of no uſe in the preſent. The people are ſovereign, independent of the Conſtitution, and cannot be bound by any law made by the Conſtitution.—Louis XVI. n'étoit Roi que par la Conſtitution: La Nation étoit Souverain ſans Conſtitution et ſans Roi *.

Thus that metaphyſical monarch, le Peuple Souverain, is conjured up, on convenient occaſions, to anſwer for every kind of

* Rap. de Mailhe, 7 Nov. 1792.

injuſtice

injuſtice and cruelty:—he was at one time declared to be the author of them aſſacres of the priſoners, on purpoſe to ſcreen the real murderers; and in this inſtance he is brought forward to annihilate the moſt ſolemn and ſacred of all obligations.

The Committee who formed the Decree of Accuſation againſt the King, ſeem to have been very much perplexed, on account of the force and preciſion in which his inviolability is declared by the Conſtitution. Mailhe, who preſented it in their name to the Convention, after repeating this embarraſſing article, ſays, with ſome degree of paſſion, "Cela veut-il dire que le Roi, tant qu'il ſeroit aſſez adroit pour éluder les cas de la décheance, pourroit impunément s'abandonner aux paſſions les plus féroces, et ſeroit-il quitte pour la perte d'un ſceptre qui lui étoit odieux, parce qu'il n'étoit pas de fer?"

Without taking notice of the falſe and

childiſh exaggerations which his queſtion inſinuates, Mailhe may be anſwered, that if the King had the addreſs to elude all the caſes to which the Conſtitution has affixed the pain of forfeiture of the crown, he certainly ought not to forfeit it—and if Mailhe himſelf were on his trial for murder or robbery, and it clearly appeared, that the accuſation was falſe, or, to uſe Mailhe's expreſſion, that he had had the addreſs to elude thoſe crimes, I confeſs I ſhould be for acquitting him; for whatever may be the opinion and practice in France, I adhere to the old notion, that a man, who has the addreſs to be innocent, ought not to be puniſhed as guilty.

Nothing can be more unworthy, than for the legiſlators of a nation to attempt to explain away the obvious meaning of a propoſition ſo clearly expreſſed, as that relating to the King's inviolability is by the French Conſtitution; and the arguments they have

uſed

uſed are as ſophiſtical as the attempt is unbecoming. For my own part, I do not think it extravagant to queſtion, whether Lewis XVI would have accepted of the Conſtitution, had the inviolability been explained to him *then*, in the manner which it is *now* explained. I am convinced he would not, if he had thought that Danton, Robeſpierre, Legendre, and Marat were, in any preſumable caſe, to be his judges.

But had all objections founded on the inviolability of the King's perſon been removed, were it clear that he might have been tried and dealt with as a private citizen, for crimes laid to his charge as a King; ſtill the Convention, as it was compoſed, could not, with any colour of impartiality, be conſidered as a proper tribunal for his trial: to have rendered it ſuch, it would have been neceſſary to remove all thoſe who had in print, or from the tribune, declared themſelves convinced of his guilt, or in any way

manifeſted a deſire that he ſhould be executed. What poſſibility is there, for example, that the King's innocence ſhould be proved to Saint-Juſt, Deputy for the department of l'Aiſne, who, in the diſcourſe he read to the Convention, ſays, "Le procés doit être fait au Roi, non point pour le crime de ſon adminiſtration, mais pour le crime d'avoir été Roi: on ne peut point regner innocemment. Tout roi n'eſt qu'un rebelle et un uſurpateur." And Robeſpierre, in the Society of Jacobins, where there were ſeveral who had been members of the Legiſlative Aſſembly, and were then of the Convention, ſaid, "that if the King were abſolved, *they* muſt of courſe be conſidered and puniſhed as rebels." Were ſuch men impartial judges?

And if the objections to particular Deputies were entirely removed, one ſolid one remains againſt the whole Aſſembly, namely, that being the King's accuſers, they were

were diſqualified from being his jury or judges.

When we next come to conſider the nature of the proofs in ſupport of the accuſation, and the manner in which they were obtained, the force of the objections againſt them is obvious and ſtriking. The papers found in the King's cabinet on the 10th of Auguſt, and thoſe afterwards diſcovered in the iron cheſt in the wall of the Tuileries, are not fair and legal evidence—becauſe papers may have been introduced and mixed with the others by the King's enemies; becauſe papers may have been loſt or removed which would have explained and accounted for what appears criminal in others; becauſe a perſon's having criminal papers in his cuſtody, is no proof that he approves of, or is even acquainted with their contents; and ſtill leſs of his intending to adopt the opinions, or follow the plans or counſels of the writers.

Let us farther ſuppoſe, that all the papers preſented to the Convention are the genuine papers found in the King's cloſet; without any having been added or ſubſtracted; ſtill they do not conſtitute a proof of his having formed any ſcheme of deſtroying the Conſtitution, or betraying the country to its enemies.

Briſſot in his writings, Louvet and Barbaroux in their ſpeeches in the Convention, aſſert, that they, and their aſſociates, brought about the Revolution of the 10th of Auguſt, with a view to eſtabliſh a Republic. They were ſo preciſe and minute on this important point, as even to particulariſe the place. —It was at Charenton, as they declared, that the meaſure of attacking the King in his palace was determined on; it was at firſt agreed to be on the 29th of July, but afterwards poſtponed to the 10th of Auguſt. Vinton, Robeſpierre, and Chabot, inſiſt that this honour belongs to them. Petion, who

had been ſent for by the King, who was actually in the palace as a Civil Magiſtrate, and in the character of a mediator, early that morning, was afterwards very much hurt, becauſe Robeſpièrre inſinuated that he had had very little ſhare in the inſurrection of the 10th of Auguſt. "Les hommes," ſays he, in his letter to Robeſpierre, "qui ſe ſont attribué la gloire de cette journée, ſont les hommes à qui elle appartient le moins; elle eſt due aux braves fédérés, *et à leur directoire ſecret qui concertait depuis long temps le plan de l'inſurrection.*" And in his letter to the Society of Jacobins he claims his own right to part of the glory: "Je n'ai pas peu contribué," ſays Petion, "à amener la journée du 10 Aout." After this, how could any men of common ſenſe, and common candour, hear with patience the King accuſed of being the aggreſſor on that occaſion? Yet this was done in the act of accuſation, and repeated by many of the members in their ſpeeches during the proceſs.

Finally,

Finally, let it be ſuppoſed, that the perſon of the King was not rendered inviolable by the Conſtitution; that the Convention was the proper tribunal by which he ought to have been tried; that the papers were unexceptionable evidence; and that the proof againſt him was convincing: after all this has been admitted, ſtill it is clear that it was moſt inexpedient and unwiſe in the National Convention to decree his execution, becauſe it would exaſperate many of the Princes of Europe; and if it pleaſed any, it would afford even them a pretext for making war with France; thus creating new enemies to their infant Republic, and ſtrengthening the hands of the old.

Becauſe the great object of puniſhment is to prevent, and not to avenge crimes; and in a Republic the ſame caſe could never again occur.

Becauſe a living and dethroned King would have been leſs intereſting to the public,

lic, and therefore leſs formidable to the preſent government of France, than a young Prince, whoſe character calumny could not touch, and whoſe father had been beheaded.

A French lady, diſtinguiſhed for wit, having remarked the ingenuity of a footman belonging to a man of high quality, who was as ugly and ſtupid as his ſervant was the reverſe, ſaid, "Il faut avouer que la Nature n'eſt pas Ariſtocrate."—If Nature has been partial to democracy, it muſt be confeſſed, however, that the Democrates of France have been moſt ungrateful to Nature, by violating all her laws, and wounding all her feelings.

The records of mankind exhibit no example of crimes deliberately committed, attended with ſo many circumſtances of wanton unrelenting cruelty, and ſo evidently pernicious to the cauſe of the perpetrators.

FINIS.

EXPLANATION OF THE MAP.

THE march of the Duke of Brunſwick from Luxembourg to Longwy and Verdun, and from Verdun, by Grand Pré, to the Camp of La Lune, is indicated by a line of a green colour.

The march of General Dumourier from Sedan to Grand Pré and St. Menehould is marked by a red line.

The march of General Dillon from Mouzon to Bieſme, red.

The march of General Kellermann from Metz, by Bar le Duc, St. Dizier, and Vitry, red.

The fields where engagements took place, are indicated by ſwords croſſed.

The rivers are pale green.

The roads yellow.

The Duke of Brunſwick's Camp at La Lune is coloured yellow.

Thoſe of Dumourier and Kellermann near St. Menehould, red.

Dillon's Camp at the Côte de Bieſme, red.

The Heſſian Camp near Dombaſle, green.

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